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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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## GEORGE ENGELMANN, MAN OF SCIENCE

BY WILLIAM G. BEK

### Part III

We are fortunate to have from the pen of Dr. Engelmann the account of another trip which he took in the spring of 1837. This story also appeared in "Das Westland," and so fortunately was preserved to us. We read:

"Letters from Arkansas, written in the Spring of 1837.

Plott's Farm, March 15, 1837.

"Since day before yesterday we have been here at David Plott's farm. We are between two swollen rivers, which permit us neither to go forward nor back. We encountered rain and snowstorms, and last night the thermometer went down to—4 degrees R. Just think, here in the land of cotton, in Arkansas, so far south of the much-praised land on the Missouri, even here it freezes so hard in March.

"In spite of the fact that I have a great deal of leisure, I find it a great effort to write to you. I am in the living-room of the family where I am stopping, surrounded by all sorts of noise. Old Mr. Plott has just hobbled out (he broke a leg thirty years ago) to prune his fruit trees. He is a genuine Pennsylvania German of the old stock. Directly beside the fireplace sits the worthy housewife, nursing her infant. He is screaming terribly. She endeavors to rock him to sleep, but since she has neither a rocking chair nor a cradle, such as are found here almost everywhere, she is rocking to and fro on a common four-legged chair. The noise is worse than the clattering of a mill. Her daughters, pretty children of six to twelve years of age, sit or stand about picking the seed out of cotton. I am, however, unable to discern any German industriousness about them, for my presence has aroused all their curiosity. A very pretty young American woman has just come, and is sitting by the fireplace, chatting with the mother and occasionally with the

daughters. Three of the girls have surrounded her. They have just left me. They could not admire my notebook enough. It is the one that I once used for the lectures of Cuvier and Dupuytren, and in which I have since sketched the prairies of Illinois and the mines of Missouri, as also the Hot Springs of Arkansas. Now the children have crowded around the new guest. One of them is touching the beautiful lace collar, and the red silk dress, the other is admiring the bright red ribbon on her hat, while the third has taken the comb from the hair of the guest and is seeking to comb her own beautiful black hair. In the meantime the women are talking of their neighbors, about health and sickness, weddings and funerals, just as you can hear in Germany.

"Don't think for an instant that I am among semi-wild people. On the contrary, these people have a good deal of culture, much more than one might expect of them, after having lived for twenty years in the wilderness. Tho the woman ordinarily says but little, so much the more surprising are her striking observations which she interjects into the conversation from time to time. Plott is very talkative and very fond of jokes. He reveals himself as a typical citizen of Arkansas and of the frontier, as he, in his serious moments, talks of personal revenge, Lynch law and the like. Nevertheless he is a clear-thinking man. He talks well concerning politics, he talks with zeal and interest of the affairs that pertain to his county, with understanding and insight of state affairs, and with sound judgment regarding the federal government. Regarding Europe these people have, of course, the wildest conceptions. One can talk very interestingly with him about many subjects of science, as for example the magnetic needle, ebb and flood tides, even on mineralogical and botanical themes. However much he likes to let his own light shine, he also likes to be instructed and informed, and is always frank and alert.

"The babe seems to have gone to sleep. The terrible bumping of the chair has ceased. They are in the act of showing the guest some new goods, calico, shoes, a beautiful mirror, combs and the like. Incidentally I overheard that the guest is a skilled dressmaker. Now I have a little quiet and

shall try to satisfy your curiosity. I shall relate to you, how I, whom you fancy as having permanently settled in St. Louis, and engaged in the practice of medicine, and publishing "Das Westland," how I have again gotten down into Arkansas, to which region I imagined I had said farewell forever. My departure from St. Louis was such a hasty one, that I did not have the time to write to you.

"Two weeks ago some one came to me and asked me to analyze chemically some minerals near the spot where they were found. When I heard that it was near Little Rock, I hesitated about accepting. However, we came to an understanding a few days later. The trip will not take me away from my practice for more than four or six weeks, moreover this is a time when there isn't much sickness, besides the remuneration offered was liberal, and finally I entertain the hope of being able to do something on this trip for my favorite study, the natural sciences, as also for our recently organized society of natural science. The occasion, which demanded a man who is familiar with the chemical analysis of minerals, is this: Some inhabitants of Little Rock have already bought a large tract of land in Arkansas, and intend to make still greater investments in land, where they believe to have found rich ore deposits. Recently there has been introduced in Congress a bill, which seeks to prevent the purchase of single, large tracts of land, and any purchase, except for actual settlement.\* It is therefore of great importance to these men in Arkansas to know whether this land contains the anticipated wealth of ore, in order to be able to make the purchase before the passage of the above named bill, or even tho the bill should not become a law, not to invest large sums in worthless land.

"Soon I had made suitable arrangements regarding my practice, had packed up chemicals, some apparatus, and a number of books. Then I hastened across the river to persuade some of my friends in Illinois to take the trip with me. At noon, on the third of March, our wagon stood before my door, ready for the departure. I had decided to go by land

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\*The bill did not become a law. It is still possible for any one to buy as much land as he is able to pay for in coin. Banknotes are not accepted at land offices. (Engelmann's note in "Das Westland.")

rather than by water, because one must often wait for weeks at the mouth of the Arkansas river for a boat to go up this stream. It would have been more convenient to go on horseback, and the trip could have been made more quickly but the baggage which I necessarily had to take along prevented that. So there was only one other way for me to go, and after having made extensive inquiry regarding the condition of the road, we agreed that we should procure a one-horse wagon, the kind that is here called Dearborn. I found the vehicle quite satisfactory. It is small and light, wide gauged, four-wheeled, the hubs are not more than four to five inches in diameter, the spokes hardly an inch thick, the box resting on six wooden springs, and the seat again on six other elastic pieces of wood. The conveyance can be covered to protect one from sun and rain. The whole affords just enough room for a trunk and two persons. Till now the wagon has stood the trip over the rocky roads very well.

"When I first saw the horse, I was afraid that it would not be equal to the task. In time I found that I had done the poor brute an injustice. Tho not suited for a fashionable coach, and tho making no claim for speed, he has never left us in the lurch, neither on a steep rocky hillside nor in a bog.

"S. got in and we started south, down Second Street. The weather had been dry for some time. The clear, warm days had thawed out the roads and dried them. We hoped that the roads would become better and better the farther we got down south. In this hope we were, however, greatly disappointed. We encountered rocky roads, and occasionally a morass, violent rainstorms, even snowstorms, thawed ground and again frozen roads. One of us always had to walk to lighten the load for the horse. Frequently we had to hold the wagon to keep it from upsetting. How I cursed this manner of traveling. How much more quickly, better and more conveniently could one travel on horseback at this season over these primitive roads. Our horse could have swum the streams, while we, together with our saddles and baggage could have been put across in a canoe. Of course, the wagon enabled me to take more baggage along, and I can also collect minerals and plants to my heart's content.

"Supper and breakfast we usually took at the house where we stopped over night. Our noonday meal we took in the open, having provided ourselves with a few pounds of chocolate and a bottle of rum. The horse got corn, which we always obtained at our last night's lodging place. During the noonday rest I arranged the specimen collected, and wrote my notes and diary. S. occasionally repaired some part of the harness that had become defective. On account of the abominable roads we often made only 18 to 20 miles and never more than 25 miles a day, so that the one walking usually advanced faster and more comfortably than the driver. When we encountered one of the many creeks we both took to the wagon.

"At first I took the same road that I traveled on my way to Arkansas two years ago. How much the region has changed! Even the lower part of St. Louis has been greatly improved. The streets are paved and good sidewalks have been built. Many houses and cottages have been erected. South of the bridge, which constitutes the city limits, as also in many other places, tracts of land have been divided into lots and sold at high prices. Everywhere the people are building, altho it is very expensive. Since, however, everything else has gone up in proportion, the end result is not much changed. One buys a building site at a high price, builds expensively, then rents the property at a high rate, and the renter—merchant or tradesman—again sells his wares or his labor at a high price. Wilder, and I should say more unreasonable, was the speculation in the sale of the so-called St. Louis Commons, a tract which extends several miles south of town. The soil is generally poor, very uneven, full of holes and ravines, and overgrown with brush. This land, for which the city can not even give a clear title, was sold at auction in parcels, under peculiar conditions. During the first fifty years only five per cent of the purchase price had to be paid. During the next fifty years five per cent annually on the basis of the purchase price. For this land between \$300 to \$400, and in places even \$1400 an acre was paid. These are sums, the annual interest of which would suffice to buy just as much land, and good land at that, ten or fifteen miles

from the city. It was expected that gardeners would take this land and supply the market with produce, but for this purpose the land is not good enough, and the price too high. Some of the buyers, as far out as four miles from St. Louis, on the Mississippi, have divided their land into building sites, called it South St. Louis and have again sold it at enormous profits. It is thought that this section may develop into a manufacturing city of great importance. Coal is not far distant, and when a railroad is built, which connects with the lead mines, the just developing iron mines, and the pine forests of southern Missouri, the raw material will be available for manufacturing. A few houses have already been built in South St. Louis. An attractive hotel, Mount Pleasant, located on an eminence, affords a pretty view and is the goal of many riding and driving parties from St. Louis.

"In marked contrast to this excessively bold venture is the village of Vide Poche, situated two miles further on. This is still the old, quiet, pleasant French village, as it has been for perhaps fifty years. Its real name is Carondelet, but it is known mostly by its nickname, Vide Poche. This name was given it by the citizens of its rival village, St. Louis, on account of the empty pockets of the poor people living there. Since the early inhabitants of St. Louis perhaps also had but little to eat, their village was called Pain Court. But Pain Court became the wealthy city of St. Louis, and its outposts extend themselves to South St. Louis, to the very boundary of the neighboring village, which continues to exist as Vide Poche.

"For ten or twelve miles from St. Louis the country looks like that previously described. The forest has been cleared away, and the wood taken to St. Louis for fuel. Scraggy brush has taken the place of the forest. This trade in wood is the chief occupation of the French. Of late, however, the Germans who settled on the Meramec, carry on this trade even more industriously. They haul fuel even from the Meramec. We met whole trains of such wagons loaded with wood. The fur caps of the drivers told us from afar that these men were of German origin.

"Our first night's stop was made at the home of a Scotchman on the Meramec. He seemed to be prosperous, and was



surrounded by a troop of blond, blue-eyed children. Nevertheless, he made on me the impression, which all Britons make on me, namely that they feel unhappy here, as tho they were in banishment. Among the Germans and the French I do not notice this. But, strange to say, among those who, because of common descent and common language, should feel themselves very much at home here, it is very pronounced. It always seems to me that this similarity must always remind them of their home country, without satisfying their longing. Perhaps the several wars between their home country and the new country may have produced a tenseness of feeling which has not been entirely overcome by the individual.

"Near the Meramec we found several German settlements. One family had allowed itself to be persuaded by an American in the neighborhood, to build on a certain tract of Congress-land, saying that they could buy there any time, when they should have earned the necessary money. After everything had been nicely arranged on the place, that same American bought the land himself from the government, and the poor Germans had to wander on without any compensation.

"In spite of the fact that it was Sunday the men were working in the Valle's Mines. The shaft, the only one of any significance in Missouri, is now 200 feet deep, and yields a rich return. The land here is hilly and rocky, a fact which pleased us, because the gravel roads were dry. Soon, however, we came into more level, fertile regions, in the midst of which, surrounded by old, rich orchards, is situated the little town of Farmington. Here it rained frightfully, and our horse could scarcely pull us thru the sticky, reddish-brown mud. If anything it became even worse in this respect at Mine la Motte and at the near-by Fredericktown. From there on it became more hilly, and the road led for the most part thru the valleys. In the region of Mine la Motte the hills, far around, are deforested, the wood being used for the operation of the smelters. There is almost no agriculture here. The village resembles a German mining town, only modified in an American, French, Indian, Mulatto fashion. The dwellings are usually wretched log cabins, around which the red clay is dug up. To the east and south lie the rich lead

mines, about twenty feet deep, to the north and west are sandstone quarries, which supply the building stones for the furnaces. The ore, eight to twelve inches thick, lies on a thick horizontal layer. There is a considerable amount of copper mixed in with the ore, which makes smelting difficult. For this reason they use the English cupola furnace. The local ore yields a lower grade of lead than the other Missouri mines. The copper is not utilized at all. It is an imposing sight to see the gleaming masses of ore piled up like building stones along the way. It is something amazing to think of all the wealth that is stored in the Mississippi valley. But the people never have enough, they always look for more. Hardly had a superintendent of a mine discovered that I knew something of this sort of thing, when he took me to his dwelling, and after he had set before me a glass of miner's grog, as he called it, in reality corn brandy, he showed me various kinds of stone, in which he imagined to have silver or zinc ore. Most of the people here are obsessed with the idea of making rich finds of silver or gold. The discovery of gold in Virginia, in the two Carolinas, in Georgia and Tennessee spur them on to make new discoveries here. Moreover, the Americans always want to become rich quickly.

"Fredericktown, three miles from here, is beautifully located in a fertile, level tract of land, surrounded by hills, which are overgrown with conifers. Here the evergreen forests and the stony mountains begin, which we encountered throughout all of southern Missouri. Fredericktown was a village of the Peoulee Indians. The French settled among them, and now the property is gradually going over into the hands of the Americans. Of the Indians only an old woman and her half-breed children remain in the place. She herself still clings to her native costume. They live by making baskets and by begging. One can see at once that Fredericktown must still have a considerable French population, by a board wall, as high as a house, which they require in a game of ball. It is located in the public square of the town, and is similar to a wall in the northern part of St. Louis.

"Passing thru hilly regions, narrow valleys and raging creeks we approached the St. Francis River. Traces of lead

are said to have been found here and there. Sixteen miles from Greenville they claim a vein of silver ore has been discovered. On the whole the land is poor and settlements are scarce. The St. Francis is about 100 yards wide here. It is a beautiful, clear stream, but is full of sandbars and islands overgrown with willows. At one time it must have abounded in beaver. Greenville looks insignificant, yet I am told that a lot of business is transacted here. Our host, Mr. Plott, gets part of his goods there, tho it is 100 miles away. In the summer the St. Francis can be waded, in the spring it would be navigable, if it were not for the so-called sunken land, which begins sixteen miles from here and extends for seventy miles along its course. There it flows in many channels thru swamps and morasses, which are often covered with decaying tree-trunks, grasses and swamp-plants. Only since the earthquake of 1811 has this land assumed this form. An effort is now being made to make the river navigable again. It also seems probable that a large part of the sunken land may be reclaimed for cultivation by a system of dams and drains. However, an engineer, who was sent by the federal government last winter, to investigate this region, became completely lost in it. It is a labyrinth, into which only the most experienced hunters dare to penetrate during the driest season. Then, however, their efforts are rewarded by the finest hunting, for here are deer, bears and panthers in great number, here the noble elk is yet found, and occasionally even a buffalo is shot here. It is said that this is the only region, in which a remnant of the millions of bison, which once roamed on both sides of the lower Mississippi, survive. Further on we met some cowboys, a class of men uniquely American. In the fall they drive great herds of cattle into the lowlands. They camp now here, now there, hunt a great deal, and occasionally rest in the nearest settlements, where they buy pork, salt and cornmeal. About the end of April they round-up the scattered cattle, and drive them back to the hills of Missouri, from whence a great part of the herd came originally. There they are put on rich pastures and grow fat. The beef cattle are sent to Phila-

delphia and New York. The milch cows and heifers are sent to northern Illinois and Michigan.

"Opposite Greenville is a saw mill, which is driven by the water of a creek, about thirty paces wide, which has its origin only half a mile from there.

"That night we stayed with a settler who had originally come from South Carolina. He had been in northern Missouri. About a year and a half ago he started for Texas. When he got to this place his money had given out, so he settled in these parts to earn enough to continue his journey.

"The previous night we stayed with a very poor family from South Carolina. Here among these hills they had been stricken by the fever. They complained much about the cold and unhealthful country, and also wanted to go to Texas. These people had picked out land that was overgrown with pine trees, since they had been accustomed to that kind from their youth, and since they believed it was most wholesome to live in such an environment. We were at least grateful for the home-made tar which we got from the people, and which we used in the place of wagon grease.

"While we saw people moving to Texas, we met others coming back, who would have nothing of either Arkansas or Texas. One family seemed especially pitiable. They were on foot. We have never seen any movers quite so needy. The grandfather, bent with age, led a skeleton of a horse. His daughter followed him, carrying one child on her arm and leading another. Another woman, evidently belonging to this family, dragged herself along with two children. She was a mile behind the others. A part of the family had perished in southern Arkansas. Doctors and the courts had claimed their whole belongings. These survivors were now returning to Illinois, from whence they had come. It is strange to note, that so many who left Illinois to seek a warmer climate, return after they have made the trial.

"South of the St. Francis river the land becomes more level, but still is stony and infertile. The pine covered hills, which separate the water of the White river from those of the St. Francis, are especially unattractive. The country is but sparsely settled. One sees some well situated homesteads

with good but old buildings, extensive fields, old peach orchards, occasionally even pretty apple orchards. Most of the homesteads, however, are abandoned, or are tilled by temporary tenants. It is a distressing sight to find ruins and delapidation where civilization has only just begun. I am not able to give a reason for such a condition. Might the reason be that this region is unhealthful? It does not look that way, and yet I heard much of sickness, and we stopped at several places where we found sick persons. The trouble was for the most part a rheumatic-catarrhal chest trouble. The illness begins with a severe chill, and for this reason they call it the Cold Plague, also at times pleurisy. The shrewd physicians, to throw a mantle over their own ignorance, called it the Epidemic.

"From the St. Francis on, the evergreen cane indicated to us that we were among southern vegetation. At the Little Black I saw the last sugar maples.\* During the typical sugar weather,—frosty nights and clear days, which now prevail, the sap ran abundantly. This sap is a delicious drink, whether one takes it just as it comes from the tree or somewhat thickened. In southern Missouri maple sugar is worth half as much as cane sugar. The former costs  $12\frac{1}{2}$  cents, the latter 20 to 25 cents per pound. Many people find the maple sugar expensive in spite of its cheapness, for they say it is less sweet, and its agreeable taste induces young and old to nibble of it often.

"From the Little Black on, the conifers became scarcer. Oaks and nut-trees appeared in place of them. The soil became somewhat better, and in the creek valleys lay scattered, pretty settlements. Most of them seemed rather old and past their prime. Here I saw the first tulip trees which I had encountered west of the Mississippi. In size and excellence of growth they do not equal those on the Wabash. They are found quite commonly in southeastern Missouri and in northeastern Arkansas, especially around Cape

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\*Incidentally I should remark that all sugar maples, as far as I have seen them in Missouri, Illinois and Indiana, belong to the black maple. The true sugar maple seems to be peculiar to the northeast. The black maple takes its place in the Mississippi valley.

Girardeau and Helena. Presently we observed on elms and cottonwoods the mistletoe. Scattered cypresses stood along creeks. The local cypress sheds its leaves in winter. Here we also saw the beautiful ivory-bill, the large southern woodpecker, and flocks of parrots that flew screaming among the treetops.

"On March 12, a gloomy, rainy day, we passed the boundary of Arkansas. The border is marked by scores hewn into standing trees. A quarter of a mile farther on we crossed the Current river, a beautiful clear stream, which, tho larger than the Black, which we passed two days before, empties into the latter at a short distance from here. On the south bank of the Current is situated a beautiful plantation, with a handsome dwelling surrounded by a veranda, many outhouses and extensive fields on both sides of the river. Doctor Pitman, the owner, has lived here for twenty-five years.

"My purpose permits of no delay, so we hastened on in spite of the bad weather. Soon we learned from a mail carrier, that a creek ahead of us had washed away the bridge, and that the stream could be crossed only by swimming. Inquiring regarding the best place at which to stay, we were directed here, and so we are awaiting the recession of the water at David Plott's.

"On our way we have often laughed about friend H., who came the same way a year ago, coming from Little Rock, and who complained much of high water. We have often heard the natives speak of him. His mustache, his pipe and his cutlass were objects of wonder to them. Everywhere he was characterized by them.

"In several places we crossed the tracks of the commission which was sent out by the Giessen Emigration Society in the fall of 1833. Frequently people have asked as to what has become of that great plan.

"One and a half miles ahead of us flows the river Fouché-Dumas or Fouché de Mas, or heaven only knows how it is really named, after an old French beaver trapper, who is said to have been the first white man who roamed about here. A number of movers attempted to cross, but upset in the

current. They had great difficulty in saving the animals, harness and a part of the load. Now the movers are trying to build a bridge. They are hewing out a canoe. This canoe and another, that is already on hand, they intend to cover with a platform.

"Our friend Plott is a funny fellow. I wish I could give you a picture of this vivacious, ever jolly, crooked-legged little man with his hawk-like nose between his sparkling, little, gray eyes. His wife says that he is so ugly, but adds "He is so smart." The word "smart" is very hard to translate. It is used very frequently here, and is one of the highest compliments that can be paid a man in whatever station he may be. Plott certainly is smart—always cheerful, talkative, informed in many ways, ready to let his light shine, but just as willing to be informed. Tho by profession a farmer, like every real American farmer, no kind of business is entirely unknown to him. That he can cure men and horses goes without saying. However, he is also a clever business man. He has a small store, which he however, opens only when customers come, which is the case several times each day. Then he knows how to present his limited stock of wares to the best advantage: his calico, his half-cotton cloth, his cotton yarn, saddles, axes, knives, coffeemills, a few kinds of medicine, coffee, sugar, whiskey and peach brandy. He flatters the girls, treats the men to brandy, jests with all, so that no one can easily resist him. Like all stores in this country, so his, too, is the gathering place for the whole community. For half an hour the store has now been teeming with customers, who make it difficult for me to write. But before I tell you about them I want to say a few more words about Plott.

"His father and mother, came as children, to Philadelphia from Germany. In Philadelphia they later married and went to Reading, Pennsylvania. Even before the Revolution, they, with many other Germans, migrated to North Carolina. There David Plott was born. As a young fellow his restless spirit drew him to the Spanish possession in Missouri. He mined lead. He spent some time among the Germans who migrated from North Carolina to the neighborhood of Cape Girardeau on the White Water. There he

married, and about twenty years ago moved out here. He came with nothing but a wide-awake mind, healthy, strong arms and an economical wife. He has in the meantime provided a beautiful farm, one of the best we have seen on the whole trip, has a good house, a mill, a distillery and a cotton gin. In addition he has pretty horses, cattle, hogs and a little store. Moreover, he is a clever hunter. Just to show us, he went into the woods and soon came back with a deer. Since he has been here he has shot a large number of bears and wolves, and nearly 1,000 deer. In the early days he obtained as many as six or seven in one day.

"The crowd in the store made too much noise for me, and what is still worse, they are disturbing me here. There came a "Colonel," who has just returned as a lieutenant with a company of volunteers. They have been to the Indian border. He invited me to drink with him. In the meanwhile the doctor of this community came up to me. He admired my steel pen, and, attempting to write his name, broke it. I produced a new pen, and he amazed all bystanders by giving proof of his profound learning. He wrote "fluvius—the river; domus—the house." He even succeeded in writing the first verse of the gospel of St. John in Latin, from memory, of course not without error. He is regarded as the most learned man in the whole region. How glad I was that he did not know that I am a physician. (I never divulge this fact on my journeys, for then I would be flooded with questions, and bothered to death with requests for examinations in every house where I stop.) If the doctor had known my profession, he would have astounded his hearers with a recital of medical knowledge. He is of Irish descent, and has lived here fifteen years. I had to hear a lot about the Indians and the last war with the British, the battle on the Horseshoe, where the old "Colonel" had fought. Then the conversation turned to the affairs of the county, and the discussion became a lively contention. Pocahontas on the Black has recently been designated as the county seat, but some are opposed to this choice, and want it located more nearly in the center of the county. Presently an election will be held. In the meantime there are lively discussions, and



each party is trying to win adherents. Plott seems to have a good deal of influence among his neighbors, altho he holds no office. He and the majority are for Pocahontas. It is the intention of the recently returned officers to give the discharged volunteers a banquet at Pocahontas in the near future. This, no doubt, will settle matters in favor of Pocahontas.

"Don't think seriously that I finished this letter in all that noise and tumult. No, when the doctor seized my pen I was forced to retreat, and when the conversation became a violent dispute, and the whiskey which the "Colonel" paid for, circulated too freely, S. and I took a walk to the creek. We found that it had gone down a great deal, and think that we may be able to cross it to-morrow. The movers also think that they should be able to ford the creek sooner than they could finish their bridge. I hope now to be able to reach Little Rock without delay, from where I hope to be able to give you the results of our investigation soon.

"Stacy's farm, fifty miles north of Little Rock.  
March 21.

"The floods of heaven have again barred our way. We are only fifty miles from Little Rock. Fate has again been kind to us in that it has guided us to one of the best houses along the way. This time we are at the home of a frontiersman, who lives as much of hunting as he does of farming. Our host is William Stacy. He belongs to that class of men who have surrendered to advancing civilization. Others of his kind flee before it, and always hover on the receding frontier. He devotes himself more and more to the more prosaic but also more substantial work of farming. The hunt now belongs to the diversions of his leisure. However, game abounds in such great numbers, and leisure is so great in this land of carefreeness, that this man had the opportunity of shooting sixteen bears during the last winter. My passion for hunting, which was never particularly great, and here in America had cooled off still more, was really fanned to quite a heat, when I saw on the trees around the house the skins of bears, deer, panthers (really cougar, *felis concolor*), lynxes, etc., stretched out on sticks. Yesterday while the rain was

pouring down on us, we saw between thirty and forty deer, usually at shooting distance. They ran a few hundred paces at our approach, eyed us and quietly grazed on. Flocks of turkeys ran about as if they were tame. S's gun had become useless because of the rain, otherwise we would have disturbed the peace of this paradise. It is too bad that I do not have the time to stay here a week or two. With the aid of my host it would be an easy matter to provide and prepare skins and skeletons of all these animals and monsters for several museums. The antlers of the elk I find here but rarely. In southeastern Missouri and northeastern Arkansas I saw them frequently over the doors of houses. I also saw them in the central part of Illinois and in the southwestern part of Missouri. They appear to one here like the remains of giants of a past period, symbols of gray antiquity,—which here, to be sure reach back only a few decades. Every old settler can tell you: "I recollect when buffalo grazed where my field now is; here at this spring I was accustomed to shoot the elk; there at that creek I trapped the beaver; that cave over there, which is now my provision chamber, served the bears as winter quarters." The bones of the bison bleach in the valleys. It is really sad to see how somber log houses, railfences and fields of corn intrude upon this romantic solitude, and forever destroy the character of an original and primitive condition. In the end it is, however, no doubt better that Anglo-Americans and Germans should live in Arkansas, eat cornbread and pork, and raise cotton for Europeans, than that the bison should graze here and the beaver build his dam.

"I know that I am digressing from my theme, namely my journey, but I should like to add, that the deer have greatly increased in number since the Indians have left these parts, some seven or eight years ago. With other game it is different. The bison, especially, retreats with the Indian. —I should also say here that our hostess is as good a cook, as our host is a hunter. A steak of venison, fried in bear's fat, is something very toothsome. Neither would you refuse cornbread as it is prepared here with bear's fat. As was to be expected, we got excellent bear meat to eat. At first I took it to be bacon, which, however, tasted better than any bacon I have

ever eaten. The meat of the bear is treated just like pork. The hams are eaten like the hams of pork, and the sidemeat, sometimes five inches thick, is smoked like bacon. Bear's fat or oil is said to be the best kind of shortening, better than butter or lard.

"Our host is not at home. He went thirty or forty miles to the White river to get some corn. The corn crop was a failure here last year. What was raised was consumed by the Indians, a part of the tribe of Creeks, who passed thru the region of Little Rock last fall, on their way from Georgia and Alabama. A bushel of corn costs \$1.50 here, and a little farther on \$2.00, and is scarcely to be [had] at that. What a prospect for an industrious farmer! And an acre here raises forty to fifty bushels.

"Instead of finding the master of the house, we found another man who does the work around the place. He built a roaring fire in the fireplace, which we found most agreeable on this rainy day. He brings the water from the spring and keeps up the conversation. Soon he addressed us in German. It is not hard to recognize the German in us, especially since S. has his double barreled gun, a long pipe and "hair on his face," that is his mustache, which he insists upon keeping to the surprise and vexation of many people here. At first I did not know what to make of the man at Stacy's house,—an elderly, unmarried, rather well educated man, who boards out here in the wilderness, who has lived in various parts of the Union, in Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan and Arkansas, and yet seems to have no definite abode. We surmised that he was neither a merchant or a doctor. He is a school teacher. His grandfather came from Main before the Revolution. The man in question was born in Pennsylvania, where he attended a German school. Then he became a sailor. Twenty years ago he was in Missouri and Illinois. In Wisconsin he married, and his children still live there. He spoke only German with us and spoke fluently and correctly. He had only one peculiarity, he translated some English expressions literally at times.

"I mentioned this case because I wish to compare it with another, this time a young German. This fellow was a queer

one—a man of the best of families, of noble birth, without a doubt had enjoyed an excellent education, a man who without a doubt spoke German fluently four years ago, at the time when the Rhenish Company left Germany,—but just think, this second Robinson has forgotten his mother tongue among these natives! Oh, he can speak a little German yet, but he says: 'It pesters me so to speak German.'

"Let me tell you how we met this queer man. We had previously heard of him, and I had looked forward to meeting an educated countryman, spend the night with him, and learn much from him. I had never been disappointed before when I visited with Germans in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri, and, till this time, in Arkansas, and had always been made to feel at home.

"The moon, nearly full, shone brightly, when we came to the bank of the Little Red river. We had tarried a little too long on the summit of a height two miles back, where a surprising outlook to the south and west into the Ozarks and into the eternal forest had attracted us, and where all around flowers, lured forth by the first warmth of spring, had detained us. Upon our call the ferry, an old, almost dangerous contraption, manned by four or five men, came across. Among these I recognized the German at once by his harsh pronunciation, and later in the light, by his light complexion and the student cap. He was too much engaged that we could have introduced ourselves to him. Having arrived at the house, I asked some one, as it is customary, whether we could spend the night there. The one addressed, directed me to the owner of the house—the above named man. I asked him in German. He replied in English that he did not understand me. Angered by this denial of the most beautiful language and a noble people, I turned to an American and asked, how far it was to the next house. It was eight miles. After some talk he said we might stay. Afterwards he told me he had intended it as a joke.

"From others I learned that he owns several farms in that region. The one on which he now lives he has but recently acquired, and with it the old ferryboat, which he expects to replace by a new one, that he is now in the act of

building. He employs many hands and pays them well. He himself is very diligent, but did not seem to make headway commensurate with his efforts, in spite of the fact that he owns much land and cattle and horses. This seeming failure is attributed in part to the wrong way in which he attacks a proposition, in part also to the fact that he is unmarried. The latter condition he has sought to remedy, but without success.

"I have related so many details regarding this odd man, because it seems so queer. It is not my general custom and I regard it as poor form to expose the private circumstances of immigrated Germans to the eyes of the people in Europe. This is unfortunately done all too frequently. It was done especially by the members of the Giessen Company who wrote all sorts of private letters, duplicated them, circulated them and even had them printed. The latter is done all too frequently by unauthorized persons, who snatch up every letter from America and put it in the papers as if it were the gospel."

Again we regret that cessation of the publication "Das Westland" has deprived us of the remainder of an interesting story.

*(To be continued.)*

## THE BOONE, HAYS AND BERRY FAMILIES OF JACKSON COUNTY

BY VIRGINIA HAYS ASBURY AND ALBERT N. DOERSCHUK

The early history of Jackson county presents no figures more striking than those of Daniel Boone, Boone Hays, Caleb Berry, and the members of their families.

Boone Hays was the oldest son of William Hays, a Virginia bred pioneer of Scotch blood, who, accompanied by a younger brother, Daniel, came with Daniel Boone to the Spanish territory west of the Mississippi in 1798. William Hays, the father, lost his life on Femme Osage Creek in 1804. Boone, Greenup, Richard and William were his sons and their mother was Susannah Boone, eldest daughter of Daniel Boone. In company with the followers of Daniel Boone, Boone Hays as a boy with his father had been in Braddock's army and had served in 1774 under Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, in the campaign against the "Shawanos" or Shawnee and allied Indians officered by French-Canadians, and also in the battle of Blue Licks in 1782.

Daniel Boone first hunted in Kentucky in 1769. In 1775 Susannah Hays was the one woman who crossed the Cumberland Gap with her husband and father and thirty pioneers. This party pushed through the wilderness to the banks of the "Cantuckie" river, south of the hills of the "Ohigho," and established Boonesborough. Susannah Hays may not have been the first white woman to set foot on Kentucky soil but she undoubtedly was the first white mother to establish a home there. Among the later additions from Virginia to this little colony, was Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the martyred president, who came from Rockingham county in 1779. The Lincolns and Boones had been warm personal friends in Pennsylvania where their families had intermarried.

During these troubled times of home building, Daniel Boone, father of eleven children, was commissioned lieutenant colonel in the army of the colonies and commanded the three garrisons at Fort Union (Louisburg), Fort Donnelly and Fort Stewart.

While yet mere children Fannie and Betsy Callaway, daughters of Colonel Richard Callaway, after whom Callaway county was named, and Daniel Boone's daughter, Jemima, while canoeing on the Kentucky river, lost control of their boat and were stolen by the Indians. Such was the inborn woodcraft knowledge of these children that they broke twigs and dropped leaves in their path as they were spirited away, and before the second day was well advanced, Jemima Boone exclaimed "That's Daddie's rifle," and they were shortly restored to their parents by these tokens of the forest.

In 1798, having been dispossessed of his Kentucky lands, and, on his wife's advice, declining Florida as a new home after a pilgrimage there revealed to his eye no game worthy of his rifle, Daniel Boone entered and applied for a grant of two thousand acres in Upper Louisiana and emigrated with many of his friends, including William and Boone Hays, Richard Berry, Jesse Yoacham, father of Berry Yoacham, Isaac Van Bibber, Isaac Fulkerson and others, with all of their families and effects, to Charette, on the Missouri river, where he became a commandant of the Femme Osage district under Spain.

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In 1801 Bonne Hays returned to Kentucky and married his cousin on his mother's side, Lydia Schull. The two settled in Darst's Bottom in St. Charles county, Missouri. Boone Hays helped construct the Fulkerson stone house, still standing in St. Charles, built for a practical German, with small windows near the ceilings, and massive doors to guard against the Indians. The cellar was very deep, had two floors and was built to store provisions against a siege. Here, during the fall months, huge barrels of buttermilk were stored for drinking and making biscuits during the winter when the cows "went dry," and the temperature was such that this kept perfectly. Wine, malt, spirits, sauerkraut, jerked deer and buffalo tongue, bear bacon, and a thousand other things were also stored there.

Restless blood and longing for adventure soon led Boone Hays with a young family, to Cote Sans Dessein in Callaway county, and after a few years spent there and in Howard

county, where he was engaged for a time in the commercial manufacture of salt at Boone's Lick, he came to the wilderness of the Kaw, where he had heard his uncle Daniel Morgan Boone say trapping was good, game plentiful, and man might live undisturbed in close communion with nature. He came here "Because he wanted elbow room," and "Because he wished to live where he could see no smoke from other white man's chimney." On the high ground south of Sixty-third street at Prospect, he soon established a home, accumulated much land and means, and raised a family of ten children. He kept every kind of a dog on his place that would follow the game of the country, and a coward was quickly weeded out of the pack. His plantation was the prosperous and leading one of the neighborhood, the goal for travelers seeking guidance and information, the visiting place in the county for Bent, Benton, Jackson, Fremont, Reid, Doniphan, Dunagan, Price, Bridger and Kit Carson, his cousin, and his advice carried weight on all momentous questions of the times. The Hays wagon trains were among the first and largest to cross the plains.

He induced his cousins Colonel Albert G. Boone and Van Boone, shrewd merchants, traders and freighters, to locate in Westport where they established a large supply and outfitting business with many trains on the plains. Albert G. Boone built the largest residence (containing the first bath room) of the time in Westport. He later became government agent for the Arapahoe Indians in Colorado, and soon, with fair and square treatment, pacified these tribes. He was a leader in Rocky Mountain explorations and made many western Indian treaties. But he, like Kit Carson, Fremont's dependence and leader, could not be handled by scheming contractors who thought the savages legitimate prey for dishonest practice. Through political influence both these men were removed, and it is not strange that soon thereafter the Indians were on the war path and all traffic ceased except when accompanied by the militia.

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Daniel Morgan Boone, the third son of Daniel Boone, was probably the first American-born white man to set foot in



Jackson county. He said this was the best field for beaver, the hides of which were then worth around \$8.00 in St. Louis. He hunted and trapped along the Missouri river until 1812 when he became a captain in the war against Great Britain, and with his brother Nathaniel did distinguished service in the West for the Union. He had a great liking for the territory around the Blue and Kaw rivers. In later years he was government farmer to the Kaw Indians and lived at this time near Le Compton, Kansas. He later settled on a farm in Westport township and died there in 1832.

Daniel Boone, senior, descendant of a stout Devonshire family, made frequent trips to this locality, hunting and trapping, and often went far into Kansas, and at least once, in 1814, when eighty years old, to the great game fields of the Yellowstone. Upon such expeditions, often lasting several months, he was always accompanied by one or more of his sons, some of his grandsons and other connections, and usually by Flanders Callaway, husband of Jemima Boone, his favorite son-in-law, and by an old Indian servant who was sworn to bring his master back to the Femme Osage dead or alive, for this wandering son of the wilderness ever wished for a burial near home, and would no doubt have preferred that his bones should remain in Missouri, where he was first laid to rest beside his wife, Rebecca Bryan. It was here if ever that he found contentment, for he was the recognized magistrate and head of the community, while his father had been only a Squire in "Pennsylfaunia," and owned more land than any Quaker in the settlement where the Boone family had been more or less persecuted, and which they left for broader fields of liberty and activity. In his unpalsied green old age, bearing with fine grace and sunny temper his gray hairs, with twinkling eye and whimsical wit he was fond of saying of the foes he had met, "And while I looked at them they fell down and never crossed my path again."

No man knew Indians more thoroughly or fought them more skillfully than he. The king grizzly bears had a habit of "scratching their mark" with their powerful claws as high as they could reach on the largest trees in the regions where they were masters. Daniel Boone loved nothing better than

to climb large trees with smooth bark and inscribe on them the records of his prowess in hunting and exploring achievements.

Daniel Boone's large heart is shown in a letter to his sister-in-law in which he says: "I am ignerent as a chile on all religion, but I have to love and fear God and believe in Jesus Christ, and do all the good to my neighbor that I can do, and as little harm as I can help, and trust on God's marcy for the rest."

At his death in September, 1820, when he was eighty-six years old, the first State Legislature of Missouri, then in session, adjourned for a day, and the members wore crepe on their left arms for twenty days, in honor and respect for his memory and deeds.

The remarkable chest development, lung and voice power of Daniel Boone, Boone Hays and his four sons, were distinguishing features of these men. They could speak and be plainly heard at the distance of a mile, and at one time when Boone Hays and his four boys had appointed a meeting place on the plains, and Linville (who by a day's delay had aroused anxiety as to his coming), approached at night, he was heard to shout for aid from across a creek at a distance that was accurately determined to be two and a half miles. And when Boone Hays called to his lagging jockey and horse in the heat of a race, what terror and spur did his voice not carry! His profanity was fluent, proficient and picturesque, combining all that was forceful, effective and blasphemous of the pasquinade and invective used by Spanish, French and English freebooters that swarmed the early West. And perhaps in less than a minute after rolling off these fullmouthed glittering yards of blue diamond blasphemy, he might be blinking and whimpering over some poor person's suffering or misfortune, or the ill that befell some favorite hound or slave.

To each of four sons, Boone Hays gave a fourth of section four in Westport township, land adjoining his own and unsurpassed for agriculture. Here Samuel, Amazon, Linville and Upton Hays established homes on ideal building sites near never failing springs of living water, raised large families, and lived simple arcadian lives. The first three sons died

there, their years filled with probity, achievements and honor. Upton Hays was killed in the Civil war. The ambition of all these men was to leave much for their children to inherit, and tales of new lands always found in them delighted listeners.

Boone Hays and his wife in their new home yearned for the fellowship of blue grass which as children they had learned to love, and which was then unknown in western Missouri. On returning from the yearly visits to St. Charles and Kentucky with the salt that was so necessary to life, they brought also blue grass seed which was sown in clearings and broken places and on gopher hills around their home, and spreading from here the benison of all conquering blue grass had its beginning in Jackson county. The roving disposition of Boone Hays took him with his boys alternately across the plains to Old and New Mexico and to the mountains, freighting and trading for profit, and to Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia from whence they brought the finest live stock obtainable to this county. He maintained a large racing stable and his horses met all comers. And finally this patriarch with his boys, always with his boys to whom he was "Pappie," must go with the gold seekers across the great desert to California. After a trip with oxen lasting over four months, and filled with untold hardships and suffering from thirst and hunger, and while still en route, he died with the wish on his lips yearning for regions he had not yet seen, and was laid to rest by the hands of his offspring on the sunset slope of the great divide. The boys returned home by way of the Isthmus and by river from the Atlantic seaboard.

A contemporary, describing Boone Hays said: "The stature and general appearance of this pioneer of the West, approached the gigantic. His chest was broad and prominent; his muscular powers displayed themselves in every limb; the high port and noble daring of his countenance gave indication of his great courage, enterprise and perseverance; and when he spoke, the very motion of his lips brought the impression that whatever he uttered could not be otherwise than strictly true. He preferred at all times to sleep on the ground or floor in a few folds of a blanket, than on the softest bed. A

forehead particularly high, noble and bold, which with years seemed as if cast from iron; a mild, clear, blue eye, a large and prominent chin, told the beholder at a glance what he had been and was formed to be."

And so when you pass the small burying ground at Sixty-third street near Prospect avenue, which Boone Hays so wisely dedicated as sacred forever to his wife and his kin and friends who lie buried there, and from which he so sadly is absent, remember the man and the woman who first brought here the seed of the green sward that brings to every heart gladness, the feeling of companionship, the final and all healing mantle, and the promise of life eternal.

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Boone Schull, nephew of Lydia Schull, a man six feet three, evenly made, of powerful frame and endurance, engaged in freighting before the war, lost his life on the Wornall Road fighting Jayhawkers that were intimidating and attempting to rob John B. Wornall. He was carried badly wounded by Boone Muir and Dick Berry to his aunt's home near Independence, and from here his two aunts, each with an infant in lap, rode all night horseback to Cass county to summon his mother to his side, but before they returned he had expired. The wife of Dr. J. W. Kyger is a younger sister of Boone Schull. Milton Schull, a cousin, was captain of a company in Colonel D. A. Williams' cavalry battalion which was constantly engaged in scouting and guiding Price's army in its last great raid. The first lieutenant of this company was Linville Hays, who knew every foot of the ground covered in the battle of Westport. When Price's army crossed at Bryams Ford, Linville Hays was in the van and was the first man across the Blue and through the fifteen mile line of defences thrown up by General Curtis on the west side of the river.

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Linville Hays (son of Boone Hays) and John L. Campbell were partners in the business of freighting across the plains. Both men were at Bent's Fort in Colorado and held more than sixty thousand dollars in drafts from the firm of Majors, Russell and Waddell, when news came from the west of the

failure of this firm. This paper was worthless in Kansas City if the news of the failure reached there before the drafts. The stage coach bearing the news of the failure, had left two hours before, and Linville determined to beat the news to the bank, and to ride the mule "Sam" the six hundred and twenty miles. "Sam" was a wonderful animal and was later famous and much written and talked about and sought out by strangers, for while the stage had relays of horses and fresh drivers every hundred miles, and had a start of two hours, Linville Hays and "Sam" travelled night and day, both often more than half asleep, stopping only for food and water.

They made the trip in six days, beat the stage into Kansas City by more than an hour, and the drafts were cashed. It was with great satisfaction that Hays witnessed the arrival of the stage with the news of the failure. Half the money was his, and he always said "I would do it again for thirty thousand dollars."

The children of Boone Hays and Lydia Schull, with dates of their births, were Alfred, 1814, who died in 1838, poisoned from a thorn prick; Louisa, 1810, wife of Thomas Crump and mother of Henry, Richard and Daniel Crump; Mary Boone, 1829, wife of A. Hughes; Serrelda, 1816, wife of James McMurtrie who died, and later she married Barrbara Collins; Eleanor, 1818, wife of Francis Chick; Mariam, 1826, wife of David McMurtrie; Linville, 1821, named after beautiful Linville Creek, six miles north of Harrisonburg in Rockingham county, Virginia, where the Hays family first met the Boones on their way to North Carolina, who married Lorinda Hallaway; Upton, 1831, whose wife was Margaret J. Watts, daughter of State Senator John S. Watts; Amazon, 1820, was named after the Amazon river on which his father had hunted, and married Agnes McMurtrie, and after her early death, Mary Berry became his wife; Samuel, 1824, who was named after Samuel Boone, and married Rebecca Berry.

The father of these two Berry girls and eleven other children was Caleb Berry, son of Richard Berry, at whose home Nancy Hanks, a close relative, was married to Thomas Lincoln, father of Abraham Lincoln. A brother of Caleb,

Robert Mitchell Berry, was still living recently in good health at the ripe age of 96 in Williamsburg, Missouri. The wife of Caleb Berry was Virginia Fulkerson, daughter among ten children of Isaac Fulkerson who married Rebecca Neil in Lee county, Virginia, in 1799. Isaac Fulkerson was one of twelve children and served in the Missouri state senate one term. Frank, a son of Caleb Berry, went to the front at the first call for volunteers in the Mexican war, and memory still follows him fondly about Chapultepec and over the broken way of Cerro Gordo, and amid the ruins of Molino De Ray, and there where the Belen gate stands yet in ghastly and scattered fragments, and yonder under the shadow of Huasco, about the crest of Churubusco, through the storm and the massacre, to his unmarked grave which covers him where he fell in that last deadly charge against Santa Anna. These Berrys were descendants from the princes that ruled the province of Berry in Southern France, a part of ancient Aquitania, originally peopled by Gallic tribes. Berry achieved independence as early as the sixth century and maintained a free and individual government until the year 1601, when Berry voluntarily joined the crown of France. To prevail was second nature to the Berrys, whether in business, battle, revel or rout, and this blood, world trained and wise, found leadership among the highlanders of Scotland, the cossacks of Russia, and among Cherokee and pioneer alike in America.

Two younger brothers of Frank Berry, Isaac and Richard after much gold digging, bull whacking, wagon bossing, and general roaming over the West, joined Upton Hays in the Confederate cause and did yeoman's service with the "Iron Brigade."

Isaac, home on sick leave and knowing there was a price upon him, boldly came into Westport one evening, apparently without arms, and went into a saloon where Union soldiers were drinking and gambling. He quietly approached a table where Major Harvey, commander of the garrison, and other officers were at cards, asked to take a hand in the game and was openly received. Every one present felt that he had walked to his own destruction, but they meant to play with him and take him at their pleasure. The stakes were large

and luck was with Ike Berry. Ere long he had all the money on the table piled before him, and the officers decided now to scoop both man and money. At the first move, however, Ike whipped out a long dirk from his boot, warned all present that if any man in the room moved those nearest him would suffer, and calmly stored the money in his long trouser pocket, being careful to close this with the button. With his eyes on every one present he backed out of the place quickly, mounted, and rode back to his command by paths which none knew better than he. Major Harvey in relating this incident later said it was the most coolly daring thing he had ever witnessed. The only Westport occurrence that ever equalled this in audacity and sheer bravado, was when Upton Hays in the early summer of 1862, in broad daylight with a small party, among whom were Dick Yeager, Boone Muir, Bill Young and Dr. Vernile Miller, galloped boldly into the town filled with Union soldiers, captured the flag on the public square, and rode out with derisive shouts at the "Yanks." "They were quick fellows," says a woman who was an eye witness to this occurrence.

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Being averse to surrender at the close of the war, these two Berry boys joined the expedition to Mexico so filled with romance, in which the instincts of the southern cavaliers with Shelby forbade an offered alliance with the liberals south of the Rio Grande, which would quickly have insured a stable new republic, and the imperious self-reliance of Maximilian declined the proffered support of the "Gringos" who would without doubt have saved both him and his throne.

Was there a duel to be seconded or fought, a favorite horse, bull or cock to be backed on a certain day, were dangerous duties to be performed, or were volunteers called for to do things that seemed impossible, there the two Berrys were found in the forefront, ever ready to take the utmost hazard.

Ike Berry, weary of the march and always hungry, stopped with Dick Collins by the wayside for food, refreshment and rest. Before the two knew it they slept and awoke prisoners in the hands of the guerrillas, the one roused with a prod from a musquitos, and the other with a slap from a



saber. Every possession was taken from them, even their clothing, and they were hurried across the hills to prison in a strange land where no friends knew their fate. But at the right moment they overpowered their captors and with weapons taken by mere strength from the guards, cut their way to liberty, and by instinct of direction rejoined their command.

The flying mounted attack in columns of four, the men firing to the right and left from the two files, and the deadly revolver work of the Americans, were a revelation to Mexican and Frenchman alike. The Mexicans made the sign of the cross, the Americans tightened their cartridge belts, and God pity the fleeing enemy overtaken by the French cuirassiers of that time depending only on sabers, for they fell cloven from sombrero to sword belt. But the French and Spanish schools of warfare, accustomed to single barrel muzzle loaders only, had never dreamed such hurricane action possible as was now revealed to them by Shelby and his men.

In Mexico a brand on live stock was the recognized law of ownership. You proved the brand, you took the animal. Ike and Dick Berry, as did two score more equally fearless, rode each a magnificent branded stallion, only recently picked up on the border. Ike had ridden out on the main street of Juarez, and sat with one leg crossed over the saddle, lazily smoking. He was a low squat Hercules, free of speech and frank of nature. In battle he always laughed; only when eating was he serious. A Mexican captain with thirty-five soldiers came up and said "This is my horse; he wears my brand; dismount!" A long white wreath of smoke curled up from Ike's meerschaum in surprise. Even the pipe entered a protest. The old battle smile came back to his face, and those who were nearest and knew him best, foresaw that a dead man would soon lay upon the street. He knocked the ashes from his pipe musingly; he put the disengaged foot back gently in the stirrup; he rose up all of a sudden the very incarnation of murder; there was a shot from a pistol on the air; the man dropped as one paralyzed. A sullen murmur arose. The Mexicans spread out like a fan surrounding Berry and a dozen comrades. A sudden crash of revolvers, close and deadly; a yell, a shout, and then a fierce hot charge and



the wail of women fell upon the sultry evening. Seventeen Mexicans were killed, two Americans had lost their lives, but Berry and his comrades kept the branded horses.

The story of how Inez Walker, a beautiful American girl educated in San Francisco, was stolen from her home in California, and how the entire posse that pursued, including her father, were ambushed and killed, was familiar to every man that was with Shelby in Mexico. As the Americans approached Encarnacion, the heavily garrisoned baronial seat of Don Luis Enrico Rodriguez, at the behest of whose passion Inez Walker was enslaved, and where she now languished a prison wife in the tower of this gloomy palace, the burning question was: Would the Americans pass Encarnacion in peace and leave unavenged the blood of the father and the daughter's degradation? The officers tightened every discipline of the camp and said they would; but what thought the men?

Shortly after the last round of the guards, one black tropical night fifty empty blankets would have been counted in the camp, but Shelby knew it not. Literally with their hands the boys found that high walls encircled the mansion; the place had evidently been locked up with due regard to the strangers in the land and the gate was strong. In the tower a single light shone, the beacon of Inez Walker.

To the ordinary adversary the place was impregnable; but tingling in the veins of the Berrys was the experience of their medieval blood in the other days so many times triumphant over just such conditions. And here was enacted in fact by American blood, brawn and courage, the fanciful romance of the fallen castle in *Ivanhoe* as related by Scott. A huge timber manned by twenty men did heavy work before an iron fastened gate gave way. In an instant there were shouts, cries, oaths and musket shots. The light in the tower alone guided the attacking party. A legion of devils seemed to have broken loose within. Leading a dozen men like Berry charged through the gloom upon the unknown, firing upon voices, and against flashes of muskets. Led by Rodriguez, and stimulated by his example, the retainers clung bitterly to the fight. The doors were as redoubts, and those leading to the

main hall were quickly barricaded. "Again to the battering ram" was the cry. Finally on the steps to the tower the robber paid with his life the penalty for his crime, contesting to the very last all approach to the bower of the stolen dove. And Inez Walker was restored to civilization and her friends.

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After the colony founded by the Americans in Mexico was abandoned, Isaac and Richard Berry returned to Jackson county and peace, and lived to old age, the first on a farm near the home of his father, and the second, ever obedient to the "wanderlust," became mayor of a town in British Columbia and died there honored by all who knew him.

Few of the creatures of earth that inhabit the forest and wild places of nature, or abide at the seat of contention, live to mature age or die a natural death. The mortality, accidents and unforeseen casualties that attended the members of these families in their peregrinations are nothing short of appalling. While some few of them could literally fall off the mountain tops and escape without a scratch, and even considering the large number of children that each felt in duty bound to bring into the world, the wonder is that these names, instead of living as they did in the forefront of affairs, were not erased and forgotten due to this strange nature and fatality which seemed to hang over and hold the descendants and followers of Daniel Boone.

Such were the pioneers and their friends and followers, men who like the eagle could gaze unflinchingly into the sun. They made "He is a Missourian" the sesame of the early days in the Trans-Mississippi country, and Missourians were the bone and sinew of the frontier life and traffic. They roved the Golden West and found the pot of treasure, as the fabled Greeks sailed the Aegean Sea in quest of the storied golden fleece. Born topographers, with instinctive sense of locality, direction and means of subsistence, and equally at home among statesmen, explorers, scouts, soldiers, hunters, trappers, traders, voyagers, mountaineers, Indian fighters, homesteaders, gold seekers and empire builders, these virile men wove the warp and woof of the epic of the West, and their history and traditions will live and echo down the centuries,

and will be appreciated after a thousand years as we now esteem the heroic men and deeds depicted by Homer, Virgil and Caesar. Kansas was their door yard, the continent their bailiwick.

In those new legends which will be written in the centuries to come, stampede will follow flood, and two great shadows of the past, the Argonaut and the Grizzly Bear will loom up over the Rocky mountains, as did Hercules and the Nemean lion in the Greek mythology. And dragon and giant, Scylla and Charybdis, Romulus and Remus, the Lorelei and the fury of their gods, will be supplanted by Sioux, Comanches and Arapahoes, western blood and brawn, the brindle wolf, the buffalo and the beaver.

## REMINISCENCES OF OFFICIAL LIFE IN JEFFERSON CITY, 1865-1875

BY CYRUS THOMPSON

In the preparation of these old time happenings, I am compelled to rely mostly on my memory and since I have few books to refer to, I may not always have the names and dates correct,—but in the main I think they can be relied upon with reasonable safety for accuracy.

I am now in my eighty-fifth year. In 1863 and 1864 I was attending school in New York State. My brother Alonzo Thompson, born in 1832, was living in Nodaway county, Missouri, having gone there about 1858 to 1860. He was a man of good education, having graduated from McKendree College in Lebanon, Illinois.

He was a surveyor and served as an assistant to the surveyor in Nodaway county, was later elected to that office, and possibly in 1862 was elected as a member of the Legislature, where he was made chairman of the committee on accounts. In 1864 he was nominated for the office of state auditor of the State of Missouri, was elected, and took charge of the office in January, 1865.

He was anxious that I take a position in his office, but I hesitated to do so. In August, 1865, I went to Jefferson City by steamboat to make him and his family a visit. Jefferson City then was not much of a town, having muddy streets, poor sidewalks and nothing very attractive about it. After a visit there of a week, I took a steamboat for Forest City, to visit my sister and her husband, J. D. Truett and family. Travel by steamboat at that season of the year was uncertain, as the water was low and sandbars numerous. Above St. Joseph we struck a snag which came up through the boat and entered the barroom very unceremoniously, and it took us several hours to get loose and proceed up the river.

I remained in Northwest Missouri—Holt, Nodaway and Atchison counties—several weeks, my brother still importuning me to assist him in the state auditor's office. Finally I

consented and returned there by steamboat about October 25, 1865. I was scarcely twenty-one years of age, had had no office experience, and was just out of school, but fortunately I was quite apt in figures. I was carried on the pay rolls as a bookkeeper, but was for a year or more a sort of general utility clerk. I was ambitious and anxious to learn. The term of the state officers then was four years, but during those four years it was changed to two years.

Thos. C. Fletcher was governor and George Smith was lieutenant governor. Governor Fletcher had lived in Jefferson county and may have held some county office there. He was, I believe, a colonel and second in command at the battle of Pilot Knob. Lieutenant Governor George Smith was from Caldwell county. Governor Fletcher, Mrs. Fletcher and the two children, Ella and Ed, were occupying the old frame mansion which stood very near to where the present mansion now graces the grounds.

The Governor and Mrs. Fletcher were charming people, and in after years I became well acquainted with them. They have all passed away, except Miss Ella, who married Perry Bartholow, who belonged to a prominent St. Louis family. In 1896 when Mrs. Thompson and I were abroad, Perry Bartholow was consul at Mayence, Germany, and while there we had the pleasure of stopping at the same pension with them, and they showed us many courtesies which we appreciated. Mrs. Bartholow is still living at 5528 Pershing avenue, St. Louis.

Prof. T. A. Parker was state superintendent of public schools, William Bishop was state treasurer, Jared E. Smith was register of lands, Robert F. Wingate was attorney general, and Frances Rodman was secretary of state.

Rodman was by some called "Count" Rodman, a name given him by some of the disgruntled Democrats of the State. Since the election returns had to be canvassed in his office, he was accused, doubtless wrongfully, of counting the returns against them and in favor of the party then in power—the Republicans.

Horace A. Swift was warden of the penitentiary. The state auditor, state treasurer and attorney general were ex-

officio inspectors of that institution, for which, if my memory serves me correctly, they were paid \$300 per annum in addition to the salaries of their respective offices.

F. A. Nitchy was chief clerk in my brother's office. He was a highly educated German, and probably was appointed through the influence of the *Westliche Post* of St. Louis. He was a very capable man. Later, his brother, Henry Nitchy, entered our office soon after his time expired as a soldier in the Union army. I became well acquainted with the judges of the Supreme Court—among them were Judges Wash. Adams, David Wagner and Philemon Bliss and others. Wilson Primm was judge of the Criminal Court of St. Louis, and an able judge he was, too. It was very seldom that he was reversed by the higher courts. I knew him well. He had relatives in Belleville, Illinois, my home city, and he would frequently make inquiries of me concerning them. He was of French descent and was a lover of music, and, as I recall, the violin was his favorite instrument. Arnold Krekel was Federal judge, and a terror to evildoers. Some sessions of his court were held in Jefferson City.

After I had commenced to get into the routine of the state auditor's office, I found there was much to learn. I was made auditing clerk, and, later on, warrant clerk. As auditing clerk, I had to be familiar with the law governing claims that were presented for payment, and the various appropriations against which warrants should be drawn. Aside from appropriations for pay of the General Assembly and contingent expense of the same, there were the appropriations for costs in criminal cases, for assessing and collecting the revenue, and many others.

It was then soon after the close of the Civil war, and Missouri was undergoing the reconstruction period. The auditing of fee bills, the costs in criminal cases, was a job I had, and it was one of huge proportions and not a very pleasant one indeed. Many of the circuit clerks in the State, either through ignorance or design, were reckless in their charges, and it was the duty of our office to cut out the fees not allowable by law. The assessing and collecting of the revenue was something similar, but not quite so bad.

We had none of the modern office equipment, stenographers and adding machines, and we used the old-fashioned letter copying books. The reader may easily imagine we had plenty of work to do.

In 1863 and 1865 the State of Missouri issued Union military bonds for payment, I believe, of the State militia and possibly some of the Missouri soldiers during the Civil war. Most of the railroads in Missouri had been granted State aid and State Bonds issued for their benefit, and the coupons falling due on same, semi-annually, had to be paid and cancelled on the bond registers of our office. Twice a year, about a wheelbarrow load of coupons would be sent to the office to be arranged, counted and cancelled. The Bank of Commerce, New York, was fiscal agent for the State of Missouri, and the coupons were paid there.

During my brother's term of office, besides the two Nitchy brothers and myself, we had Newton W. Charles and Wm. M. Smith. The latter was the son of Lieutenant Governor Smith. In later years he moved to Kansas City, where he lived for many years, married a sister of Gardiner Lathrop, later I think moved to California, and I believe is now deceased. In fact, all who were with me in my brother's office now are deceased.

Our office furniture was anything but up-to-date or elaborate. We had gas for lighting and a big stove in the center of our main office that would take in a stick of wood about three feet long. In the summer time the stove was taken to the basement. During the time my brother held office, some difference arose between him and State Treasurer Col. Wm. Bishop, that was never healed over. Just what the trouble was I do not now recall. There was also some trouble between F. A. Nitchy and Jared E. Smith, the register of lands, that became very acute. The register one day assaulted Nitchy in the corridor of the capitol building, and knocked him down, possibly they may have been separated by friends. I recall that for some time after that when Nitchy came to the office of a morning, he would take a revolver out of his pocket and lay it aside until he left for home. Fortunately, hostilities between them were never resumed.

Few are now living who were connected with the Fletcher administration. Warden Horace A. Swift has some children living. A daughter, Miss Emma Swift, was still alive and resided in Jefferson City a year or two ago.

So soon after the close of the Civil war many of those who were active participants in it on one side or the other, still retained some of the belligerent spirit and were ready to settle their differences by harsh measures rather than by arbitration and peaceful methods.

My brother Alonzo Thompson was never in the regular or active service of the Federal government, but at that time he lived in Nodaway county and there was plenty of warlike service there of a more or less active nature. The bushwhackers would get together and make trouble, then the Union men would collect their forces and chase the bushwhackers out of the county, and for a few weeks things would be reasonably quiet, until they would return in force, and then the Union men had to do some hiding and dodging, until they could gather their scattered Union men and drive the bushwhackers away again.

It was probably in 1862 or 1863 that Bill Anderson and his guerillas were doing so much of a lawless nature in Missouri to worry and kill the Union men. About that time my sister and her two small daughters were visiting us from Forest City, Missouri. I had joined the Belleville (Ill.) Home Guards. I was only a stripling of a boy. We had our old army muskets with percussion caps, and would go out about once a week to drill. Our uniform consisted mostly of a blue army coat and brass buttons, with possibly an army cap. The coats were very comfortable and we wore them frequently about our daily affairs. My sister wished to return home, and in view of the uncertainty of travel in those days, I was selected as a good, healthy chap to accompany her and her two little girls. We went to St. Louis and took the old North Missouri railroad, now the Wabash railroad, for Macon City, where we were to connect with the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. It was war times and the trains were seldom on time. When we reached Centralia, Missouri, our train was indefinitely stopped. Bill Anderson and his men had had a battle with



the Union forces, the latter had been defeated and most of them killed. Many of the dead soldiers were then at Centralia in cattle cars, and we could see them lying around on the floor of the car by climbing up and looking through the long swinging doors at the top of the cars. I remember one poor fellow had a bullet hole in his face, where the blood had oozed out.

The trains could not move, as they were under military orders, and after a long delay, we returned to Illinois to await a more quiet time to make the trip. The train the day before had been held up at Centralia by Bill Anderson and his men, and every person who had on any semblance of a Union uniform on the train was taken off and shot. I think there were ten or twelve of them killed, and had we been on that train the day before, I with my military blouse on would doubtless have been one of those lined up and shot along with the others. I cannot say that I am a fatalist, but I confess that at times I have thought, "There is a destiny that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may."

In the State Convention that was held in the summer or the fall of 1868, General Dan M. Draper received the nomination and my brother was defeated. General Draper was a strong candidate. I believe he had been chief clerk of the House of Representatives and had a wide acquaintance over the State. His military activities had been confined, possibly, mostly to service in the State. He was a popular man, with many admirers and friends. He was elected in the fall of 1868 and entered on the duties of state auditor in January 1869. The term of office had been changed, as I have previously written, from four years to two years.

I knew General Draper quite well, but did not know whether he would retain me in the office or not. He had a brother, Charles C. Draper, whom I knew well, and who for a time may have been private secretary to Governor Fletcher.

Joseph W. McClurg was the incoming governor. He was from Linn Creek, Camden county. He, too, had had some military experience and was an excellent, worthy man. General Draper appointed his father, Philander Draper, as chief clerk. I was retained as auditing and warrant clerk. I think I was the only one of the old clerks retained, and possibly

Capt. John Pestel, a one-armed Union soldier, who was one of the newer clerks. Governor McClurg was a widower with several children, one of whom was Miss Fannie, who had charge of the Governor's mansion.

Governor McClurg was a man rather below medium stature, with iron gray hair and whiskers, and was always approachable. I frequently had occasion to visit his office, became well acquainted with him and learned to love and admire him very much, as had been the case with me as regards Governor Fletcher.

Governor McClurg was a devout Presbyterian. The young people would congregate on the mansion grounds and play croquet. So far as I remember it was rather a new game in Jefferson City, and it was named, laconically, "Presbyterian billiards."

Charles C. Draper, General Draper's brother, was made private secretary to the Governor, and later he and Miss Fannie were married, and a year or two ago both were still living and descending the declivity of life at Lebanon, Missouri.

In the presidential election in 1868, considerable bitterness grew up between the two political factions in Missouri. Speeches were made and the usual methods resorted to by both parties. We had a meeting at the capitol building one night and our forces were organized. Upon motion of Governor Fletcher, I was made orderly sergeant and had the roster of our boys. Both parties had their parade the same night, with our wide-awake uniforms and torches. I, as the orderly, marched at the head of our boys, and while we met the boys of the opposing faction on High street, everything was serene and peaceful, but each side tried to surpass the other in the volume of noise made.

Governor McClurg's administration during 1869 and 1870 passed through without much friction. He made a good governor. The state auditor's office moved along in the even tenor of its way, and there were fewer things arising from the results of the Civil war than came to the surface during the four years 1865 to 1868.

The penitentiary was always a subject to arise during each administration. Committees were appointed to make an investigation of it, it was an expensive institution. The income from it was always uncertain, appropriations were needed, and the Legislature was appealed to. During much of my residence in Jefferson City, I lived within two city blocks of the main entrance to the prison. From long acquaintance with the officers and guards, I had the utmost freedom there and would occasionally take my friends through, unattended by the guards. Over the small revolving gate was boldly proclaimed

"The way of the Transgressor is hard"

In later years an admission fee of twenty-five cents was assessed against all visitors, for the benefit of the penitentiary library. Then the sign was made to read:

"The way of the Transgressor is hard"

"Admission 25c"

While the way was hard, twenty-five cents seemed to smooth the way, for those who entered there.

Some of the time the trusty system was very much in vogue, and convicts, men and women, those whose time would soon expire, would be employed by persons living near the prison for light work about the homes or for domestic purposes in the house or kitchen, and for which a very small charge, if any, was made by the prison authorities.

Squads of convicts would work on the streets, under guard, and occasionally one would escape. It was sometimes difficult to keep the prisoners employed.

One morning before going to the office, this was at a time when I was living about ten blocks from the prison, I looked out of the front door of my residence and saw an unusual crowd there and a convict standing some distance off with a young man, who was armed, guarding him. The young man was an acquaintance of mine, and he called to me and requested me to help him take the convict to the prison. I picked up a big revolver I had, and went to the assistance of

my young friend. We marched him back to the prison and as we did so we were given the right of way by pedestrians on the sidewalk. The convict had discarded his striped clothing and was clad only in his underwear, which was none too ample in which to appear upon the street. My friend collected the customary reward for the return of an escaped prisoner, which was \$25.00, and most graciously thanked me for the assistance I had so willingly given him.

At one time during my residence in Jefferson City the penitentiary was leased to Waddy Thompson, a Mr. Willis and others. As I recall now, the lessees were to feed and clothe the convicts and to pay a stipulated amount to the State, in addition, for the hire of the prisoners. This did not prove to be a wise arrangement, since the lessees did not find it profitable, as they had hoped. The consequence was, they were losing money, and it finally became apparent that the prisoners were scantily clothed for cold weather and they were poorly fed. Things drifted along and finally the convicts started a first class insurrection, to show that they were not receiving the clothing and food they were entitled to have. At that time there were probably fifteen hundred prisoners, more or less, housed there. The men refused to work and became very bold and threatening and wholly defied the officers and guards. A SOS call was sounded and the citizens immediately responded in large numbers to help all they could in the emergency.

I was living within possibly 300 yards of the main entrance and I grabbed my double-barreled shotgun and a revolver and ran over to the prison. The surrounding grounds were lined with men, women and children and perfect bedlam was turned loose within the walls. The roofs of the outer buildings were lined with a score or more of armed citizens and guards. About sixty of us, who were fairly well armed, were marched inside the prison walls and took our stand in double ranks in front of the main entrances.

The convicts inside of the prison were in an uproar, shouting and yelling at us and brandishing clubs and knives and anything they could lay hands on, the nearest of any of them to us was maybe fifty or sixty yards. We were under

the command of the warden and adjutant general. They walked out about fifty feet in front of us and for a moment quiet was partially restored. The convicts were told that they would be given just five minutes to quiet down and return to their work or to the cell buildings where they belonged. If they did not, our improvised squad would fire upon them without any mercy. No move was made by the convicts for about three minutes, then they commenced to stop their noise and in only a few minutes more everything quieted down and not a gun was fired.

Many of us had sympathy for the prisoners because we knew their demands were just, but we could not permit them to break out and overrun the town and escape. Some months later there was another insurrection, but that was quieted down by the officers and guards and no citizens went inside. Someone has said,

"Stone walls do not a prison make, nor iron bars a cage" but this is a figure of speech, rather than a reality, I think.

During my stay in Jefferson City, the office of public printer was a good one and much money was paid out for the public printing. The public printers whom I remember, were Major Emory S. Foster, a Civil war veteran, who had been badly wounded and never fully regained his health, Horace Wilcox, Col. Elwood Kirby, Kent G. Cooper, all of whom I knew well, since they made frequent calls at the state auditor's office for warrants for work done for the State. All of them have passed away, long since.

During my residence in Jefferson City the Jesse James gang was more or less in evidence, in Clay, Jackson, Platte, Ray and other surrounding counties, and Sam Hildebrand was having his inning in Washington, St. Francois, Iron and other near-by counties. While the James boys worked and terrorized, as a small band, Sam conducted most of his activities alone. He was very much like the Irishman's flea, very difficult to locate and capture. Sam was versatile, resourceful and very active. There was a big standing reward for his arrest, dead or alive, and he was still very much alive, and hard to find and locate, since he doubtless had relations and acquaintances, who harbored him, and probably

others who feared him and were loath to tell of his whereabouts, if they knew. When the peace officers would get too hot on his trail, he would be quiet for some weeks.

During one of these periods of forced inactivity, Sam drifted over into Southern Illinois, and for some trifling infraction of the law a policeman or constable or city marshal attempted to arrest him at Pinckneyville, Illinois. I think the fact was the officer did not know who he was, but Sam was killed and his terrorizing came to an end.

General Dan M. Draper was elected in the fall of 1870 and succeeded himself as state auditor, serving two terms, or four years. He later moved to Colorado and was connected with the financial department of the D. & R. G. railway system, where I had the pleasure of meeting him occasionally. He died in Colorado.

B. Gratz Brown was elected governor in 1870. Frederick N. Judson was his private secretary. Later Judson became a lawyer and made an enviable reputation practicing law in St. Louis and later died there.

When Horace Greeley ran for president, B. Gratz Brown was on the ticket for vice-president. The ticket was defeated. Some of the cartoonists showed Brown as a small individual, hanging onto the coattail of a heroic figure of Horace Greeley. Brown had fought a duel with Thomas A. Reynolds, U. S. district attorney, and Brown was wounded in the knee, and always walked afterwards with a slight limp. While I knew him well, he never was as approachable to me as Governors Fletcher and McClurg. Brown died December 13, 1885.

General Draper was succeeded as state auditor by Major Geo. B. Clark in 1872. Major Clark had been a soldier in the Confederate army, was a Democrat, and since I was and always had been a Republican, it was questionable in my mind whether I would be retained in the office.

Wm. McGrain was appointed chief clerk and I remained during the Clark administration as auditing and warrant clerk. I realized and appreciated the loyalty with which Major Clark stood by me. Doubtless my acquaintance and long experience in the office kept me, as there were many hungry Democrats who were clamorous and wanted my

position. Major Clark died in Washington, D. C. I lost all trace of McGrain, the chief clerk.

I handed in my resignation in December, 1874, but was more or less actually connected with the auditor's office until the closing days of Major Clark's term.

He was succeeded by Judge Thomas Holladay of Madison county, a Democrat, who was elected in 1874. There was some political ill feeling between Clark and Holladay, the source of which I never fully understood.

Albert O. Allen was Holladay's chief clerk. Judge Holladay died July 31, 1904. Allen was elected state auditor in 1900, and the last I knew of him he resided at New Madrid, Missouri.

During my residence in Jefferson City I formed many lasting friendships, that are now pleasant to recall. One of the most cherished by me was that of Major Jno. T. Clarke. State Auditor Major Geo. B. Clark used no final "e" in his name. They both were from Southeast Missouri, but not in any way related, so far as I know.

John T. Clarke had been in the Union army on Col. Thomas C. Fletcher's staff during the latter portion of the Civil war. During the time that Sam Hildebrand was creating so much disturbance, he was deputy sheriff of Washington county, later was elected sheriff, and frequently had official business at the state capitol.

He entered the state auditor's office possibly during Major Geo. B. Clark's term of office, as bookkeeper, a good one, too, and we worked together in the same office. He was retained in the office during some of the following administrations, possibly under state auditors James M. Seibert, George E. Hackmann and maybe others. He was sent to Washington, D. C., to gather certain information and statistics for the State, and at the time of his death, which occurred within the last few years, he was probably one of the best posted men in the State on statistics regarding Missouri. He had married Miss Sadie Bolton, who still survives, with possibly a daughter and son. I never had a more steadfast and true friend than Major Clarke. I think his remains were interred in the Jefferson City cemetery.

About 1871 or 1872 a new paper was started in St. Louis, the St. Louis *Globe*, and for several months I served as local reporter for it. I would send in items of interest that I would gather about the state capitol and pick up in the city that did not interfere with my official duties in the state auditor's office. Later, the paper was merged into the *Globe-Democrat*, and still later the St. Louis *Republic* was acquired. It is probably safe to say that I am one of the oldest and most constant readers, now living, of the *Globe-Democrat*, having commenced with the St. Louis *Globe* in 1871 or 1872, about fifty-seven years ago.

I learned to know by sight, if not intimately, many noted men whose names have a prominent place in history. One was Colonel James B. Eads, the designer and builder of the Eads bridge at St. Louis. It was he who built the jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi river and it was his active brain that thought of the plan and worked it out to a wonderful success. He would come into the state auditor's office at times and write at some of the unoccupied desks. He was a quiet man who seemed to be thinking,—thinking out to a final decision some of his wonderful engineering projects. He had a daughter who married a Mr. How, who was connected in some way with the old North Missouri railroad, now the Wabash railway in Missouri, as president or superintendent. In 1896 when traveling abroad we met them, as ships pass in the night. Their party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. How, Eads How, a son, and a Miss Lionberger. They returned home soon after the 1896 tornado, but we came home later. Mr. How died soon after reaching St. Louis. A sister of Mrs. How married a St. Louis newspaper man. James Eads How, whom we met with his parents, is the present millionaire hobo. He is a grandson of Colonel James B. Eads.

Carl Schurz was another prominent man who was frequently seen at the state capitol. As I now recall him, he was rather above the average height in stature, slender in build, dark, short whiskers and had a very scholarly appearance, but not much of the military in his bearing. He had been a general in the Union army for a while, possibly resigned, was U. S. senator from Missouri, and was in the



president's cabinet at Washington, having been appointed secretary of the interior, March 12, 1877. He had been appointed Minister to Spain by President Lincoln but had resigned and returned to fight for his adopted country.

General James Shields was another man deserving more than a passing notice. In 1846 he entered the Mexican war from Belleville, St. Clair county, Illinois, my home town, became a brigadier-general, and was badly wounded in some of the bloody battles in which he participated. He had been shot through the body, by supposedly a copper bullet in Mexico, and to cleanse the wound and to prevent infection it was said a very fine silk handkerchief had been drawn through the wound. He was a hero of the Mexican and of the Civil war, and reached a pinnacle of distinction I believe that has been attained by no other man, having been United States senator from three different states—Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri.

Then there was Henry Clay Dean, a noted orator who hailed from "Rebel Cove." He was a great orator, a deep and profound student with a wonderful memory, and especially also noted as being wholly indifferent as to his personal appearance and in the cut and general fit of his clothing. He may have thought:

"Who shall judge men by their manners,  
Who shall know them by their dress,  
Kings may be fit for princes,  
Princes fit for something less."

Then there was General Jo Shelby, the noted Confederate cavalry leader, who was idolized by his men and seemed to fight for the love of it. In any event, he had to be seriously taken into consideration by the contending Union generals who fought against him.

It frequently would happen that men of national prominence would be visitors at the state capitol. On one occasion General Sherman stopped there and made an address in the Hall of Representatives. General Custer also was there, possibly with General Sherman. They were men who had made enviable records during the Civil war. General Custer,

with long flowing hair falling over his shoulders, was a picturesque person, dressed in his military uniform.

Duke Alexis of Russia, with his retinue, stopped there for a short time and he may have made an address. He was a man of fine appearance, very large and attractive, and in his personality may have indicated royal blood.

King Kalakaua, from the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands, too was a visitor—a large man like Duke Alexis, but of swarthy or dark complexion, and looked fit to rule his people as their king. I remember we found it very difficult to spell or pronounce his name, and among ourselves we called him King Calico, and let it go at that.

For a while we boarded with Captain and Mrs. Rice, excellent people. He had been in the Union army and much of the time had served and bled for his country in the west among the Indians. He had become well acquainted with many of the historical characters of that country. While we were boarders with him "Wild Bill" Hickok visited him, and I had the pleasure of meeting him,—a rather quiet, unassuming man, who did his part as a peace officer, marshal and sheriff, to keep the lawless element in check. He had a very restraining influence, killing a number of the desperadoes, when absolutely necessary, which was quite frequently. Later he was shot by some cowardly assassin who stealthily slipped up behind him and shot him in the head and killed him instantly.

It is not possible to mention all of the men of prominence with whose personality I became more or less familiar while there, but there are three, whom I must not fail to at least mention.

Hon. James S. Rollins of Columbia, Missouri, who always was watchful for the interest of his constituents, was either senator or representative for many years. He was a very pleasing man with a charming personality.

Hon. Anthony Ittner of St. Louis was senator, if I remember correctly, and is still living in St. Louis, having attained a ripe old age. He represented his constituency in various ways. I have since known some of his children, especially Warren Ittner and family, who lived in Belleville for many years. Warren is now deceased.

Another man who was a member of the Legislature was Joseph Pulitzer. He was a man of rather striking personality. I think possibly he was a Hungarian, at least a foreigner by birth. At that time he may have been connected with some newspaper in St. Louis, but there was nothing then that gave indication to me of the reputation he was to achieve as the publisher of a great metropolitan newspaper in New York City.

After Governor B. Gratz Brown, came Silas Woodson, elected in 1872; Charles H. Hardin, elected in 1874; John S. Phelps, elected in 1876; Thomas T. Crittenden, elected in 1880; John S. Marmaduke, elected in 1884. I knew all of them fairly well, with the exception of Governor Marmaduke.

There were four prominent and very influential men from western Missouri who, to a large extent, shaped Missouri politics for several years,—Senator Francis M. Cockrell, Senator Geo. G. Vest, Judge John F. Philips, of the Federal court, and Governor Thomas T. Crittenden, who filled the gubernatorial chair from 1881 to 1884, inclusive, he having previously served as attorney general by appointment. Of the four mentioned, some fought for the Union cause and others of them were equally valorous and fought for the Southern Confederacy.

In bringing to a close my recollections and reminiscences, I must mention at least one other man of more than passing prominence, Hon. Charles P. Johnson, who was elected lieutenant-governor in November, 1872, and died May 21, 1920. He was one of the most noted criminal lawyers of his time, and ranked high among the best of those who lived before him, or among those who have come after him. I knew him well and intimately. Belleville, Illinois, in a way, laid claim to him, since he possibly was born here, certainly attended school here, had many friends here, and as a further claim to him, as an Illinoisan, I think for a time he may have edited a newspaper at Sparta, Illinois.

As I think back and note the changes that have been wrought during my lifetime, it seems to me more like a dream than a reality.

Referring to just one thing, the railroads, how they have grown, extended and branched out is marvelous. During the Civil war and for some time before and up to say 1870, the railroad conveniences and accommodations as regards passenger service were far from being good as compared with the equipment and service of the present day.

During my residence in Jefferson City from 1865 to 1875 I frequently traveled over the Missouri Pacific. The time from St. Louis to Jefferson City on the fastest trains, was from six to seven hours. Recently I went to Kansas City over that road and it took us exactly three hours to Jefferson City and seven and one-half hours to Kansas City from St. Louis.

I recall very distinctly about 1862 or 1863, as a youth, in going to northwest Missouri, I traveled over the old North Missouri road, now the Wabash, and our progress was slow and uncertain and the comforts and conveniences were conspicuous by their absence. I suppose that road was in a class with most other railroads of that era. Of many things, one at least made a lasting impression on my plastic mind, and that is, that at infrequent intervals, the train boy would come through the car with a big watering can, much like the present day garden sprinkling cans, with an old tin cup, of ancient vintage, rusty and battered from long use, and he would furnish us drinking water served from that old tin cup used by all the thirsty passengers. The water was not ice cold either. If there were any germs in those days we fortunately did not know it and they had not been captured and named according to their various species, and thoroughly listed and civilized as now, in 1929.

In 1875 I removed to Belleville, Illinois, with my family, and have been a resident here ever since, for a period of more than fifty-four years.

I now seldom go to Jefferson City. The old state capital has been replaced by a magnificent new building, a credit to the great State of Missouri. For many years, at intervals, efforts were made to remove the state capital to some other city, Sedalia being one of the most active contenders for the honor. Many places would have welcomed the capital, but

were not so anxious for the penitentiary, as an accompaniment. However, when the new capital was erected, that settled forever the question of its location.

I hope those who may read my rambling reminiscences, may derive some pleasure from doing so, and not be too critical.

Were I to return to Jefferson City now, after the lapse of sixty-four years, counting from the time I first went there in 1865, I would find

"None were there to greet me,  
And few were left to know,  
Of those who played upon the green,  
Some sixty years ago."

## THE COOK FAMILY OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

BY GEORGE MUNGER

To the Cook family Southeast Missouri is greatly indebted for her governmental institutions and for the recognition given her in the early history of the State.

The ancestor of the men of whom the following is written was of English stock and came to America about the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Settling in Virginia, the early Cooks were southern planters and in 1790, perhaps for years prior thereto, John Dillard Cook, Sr., owned and resided upon a plantation in Orange county in that state.

Here were born his three sons, destined to become eminent in two distant states, and here they were reared until 1797, when the wanderlust seized him and he immigrated to the frontier, purchasing and clearing a farm in Scott county, Kentucky, in the immediate neighborhood of Frankfort.<sup>2</sup>

In the order of their birth these sons were named Nathaniel, Daniel P. and John Dillard. All were matured physically and educated at Frankfort. Nathaniel developed a military turn of mind and engaged in some Indian fighting in Kentucky, then crossed the Mississippi river, either at Cape Girardeau or Ste. Genevieve, and joined himself to one Thomas Madden, who was then deputy surveyor at Ste. Genevieve under the Spanish government.

In the year 1800 he settled near the present site of Farmington in what has since been, and now is, known as the "Cook Settlement."<sup>3</sup> At a later date he removed to the vicinity of Fredericktown and owned the land on which that town was laid out at the time the commissioners selected its location.

His marriage to Miss Honore Madden, daughter of Thomas Madden, took place in 1802.<sup>4</sup> From that time for-

<sup>1</sup>Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 377, fn. 74.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup>Goodspeed's *History of Southeast Missouri*, p. 253.

<sup>4</sup>Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 377, fn. 74.

ward his home continued to be in Madison county. At his death he was buried on his farm, where his remains still repose.

As a civilian Mr. Cook served as one of the early Judges of the Court of Quarter Sessions at Ste. Genevieve.<sup>5</sup> At that time it was not necessary that one should be a lawyer to hold a judicial office.

He was elected a member of the third territorial General Assembly in 1816.<sup>6</sup> In 1820, when the convention met on June 12th, at the "Mansion House," Third and Vine streets, St. Louis, to draft a constitution for Missouri, Nathaniel Cook was a member accredited from Madison county.<sup>7</sup> He had as one of his colleagues his youngest brother, John Dillard Cook, who had been elected by Ste. Genevieve county.

The first State election in Missouri was held in August, 1820. Nathaniel Cook was a candidate for election to the lieutenant governorship. Though he ran a good race he lost by a few hundred votes to William H. Ashley. He then entered the lists against Thomas H. Benton, John Rice Jones, and others for the United States senatorship and was again defeated.<sup>8</sup>

His military career began with Indian fighting in Kentucky before he sought his fortune west of the great river. He was a major of the Missouri Rangers under Colonel Henry Dodge<sup>9</sup> and during the War of 1812 he attained the rank of colonel and commanded a regiment at the battle of Lundy's Lane.<sup>10</sup>

In private life he was a farmer and a surveyor of lands. Of his marriage to Miss Madden were born two sons, who, like their father before them, emigrated from their native state and found honors and high position in other states than that of their nativity.

And here we insert a little *obiter* concerning Daniel P., the second born of this triplet of brothers, he not having come

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<sup>5</sup>Douglass' *History of Southeast Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup>Goodspeed's *History of Southeast Missouri*, p. 59.

<sup>8</sup>Douglass' *History of Southeast Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 299.

<sup>9</sup>Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 377.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

to Missouri. This is thought to be allowable in order to preserve the unity of the story. Daniel P. Cook was educated in Frankfort, studied law, was admitted to the bar, and then went north into Illinois. His ample talents and affable disposition won him clients, and the confidence of the people. Cook county was named for him and he was showered with many distinguished honors by the people of that state.

In 1824 he led the anti-slavery forces to victory in Illinois. It was Daniel P. Cook who was chosen first congressman from that state. He also sat upon her supreme bench and went to the Court of St. James as a special envoy from the United States. And then, unfortunately, his life into which so much constructive work had been crowded and which gave such brilliant promise of future achievement, was cut short by death ere he had reached his fortieth year.<sup>11</sup>

John Dillard Cook was born in 1790. Being the youngest of the sons he was given his father's full name. Having finished his education up to the limit of his opportunities he read law in the office of General Talbert at Frankfort and was there admitted to the bar.

In 1814 his marriage to Miss Sarah Kiddleton Taylor, a cousin of General Zachary Taylor, occurred. It was not long after his marriage that John Dillard, like Nathaniel and Daniel P., traveled on in pursuit of the receding frontier.

He went direct to Ste. Genevieve and began the practice of his profession. The date of his arrival at his new home is not definitely known, but in the records of the first session of the territorial court for Jefferson county, held at Hillsboro March 22, 1819, his name appears as having been admitted to practice in that court on that day.

The next year, 1820, found him in attendance on the Missouri constitutional convention as a member from Ste. Genevieve county.<sup>12</sup> In this body he sat alongside his eldest brother, Colonel Nathaniel Cook, and though recently arrived in the State and being only thirty years of age, he made an immediate impress of his personality and talents upon the

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<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*



membership and took rank as a strong constitutional lawyer and one having ideas worthy of consideration.

The work of the convention was adopted and sent on to Washington where, after much haggling, and backing and filling on the slavery and some other questions, the new state was admitted into the Union. It then became the duty of Governor McNair to designate and appoint three men, learned in the law, to compose, organize and set in motion the Supreme Court of Missouri.

To constitute this court Governor McNair appointed John Dillard Cook, of Ste. Genevieve, John Rice Jones, of Potosi, and Matthias McGirk, of Montgomery county.<sup>13</sup> Judges Cook and McGirk were of approximately the same age,<sup>14</sup> each being little past thirty. Judge Jones was much older, having been born in Wales in 1759.<sup>15</sup>

The work of these early judges was not very arduous. A glance at Vol. I of Houck's *Reports* will show that the sum total of their combined labors, up to the date of Judge Cook's withdrawal from that bench in 1823, covers but one hundred and fifty-three pages. Eighty-nine causes were heard and determined by these three judges during the two years they labored together. Of these Judge McGirk wrote the opinions in forty-three, Judge Cook in twenty-six, and Judge Jones decided twenty cases.

Judicially speaking the year 1823 was a momentous one for Southeast Missouri. It was then that Judge Richard S. Thomas, of Cape Girardeau county, was successfully impeached<sup>16</sup> and, then too, Judge Cook, at the age of thirty-three, deliberately climbed down from the supreme bench and tendered his resignation of that high office. He was twice reappointed by the governor and importuned to go back to the work he had laid aside, but he steadfastly adhered to his determination to quit that post.<sup>17</sup>

The governor then tendered to Judge Cook the judgeship of the old fourth circuit then vacant by reason of the impeach-

<sup>13</sup>Bay's *Bench and Bar*, p. 536.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup>Douglass' *History of Southeast Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 61.

<sup>16</sup>Bay's *Bench and Bar*, p. 251.

<sup>17</sup>Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 377, fn. 74.

ment aforesaid, and he accepted, remaining on the subordinate bench until 1848, when he again exercised that personal privilege so infrequently used, by resigning this place.

This second resignation is easily explainable on the theory that he was relinquishing this place that had been so long in his care to take another which he may have thought to be more to his liking.

He was appointed to the United States attorneyship with headquarters at St. Louis just after quitting the circuit judgeship and went to St. Louis and established his home there. But failing health prevented his long holding the new position and he soon returned to his old home near McKendree's Chapel, in Cape Girardeau county, to which place he had moved from Ste. Genevieve on accepting the office of circuit judge. Here he died on the 28th day of October, 1852.<sup>18</sup>

The Cape Girardeau County Historical Society has located his grave and is perpetuating his memory by the assembling and preservation of historical and personal incidents with which he is connected.

Unbidden the question comes: Why did this brilliantly endowed young man, in the heyday of physical strength, voluntarily relinquish a seat on the highest judicial tribunal in the state? And again: Why, after this renunciation did he accept a lesser office of similar character and hold it with such loyalty and distinction for so long a period of years? The true answer may never be known, but of theories and opinions there have been and will be many.

Some say that Judge Cook was bucolic in his tastes and that the society in which the judges of the Supreme Court moved irked him. Others suggest that the call of the wild, the woods and the streams, was too strong to be resisted. And then there is the suggestion that he was "indolent."

One would judge from the meager light that is available after the flight of more than three-quarters of a century following his death, that Judge Cook was an ardent lover of nature and that to him she spoke a language that he readily understood. If this was a fault, it may well be listed as an amiable one.

<sup>18</sup>Memorial Address of Mr. Allen Oliver, of Cape Girardeau.

That Judge Cook was no boor is evinced by the clarity of his expression and the purity of his diction. It is not probable that a man of his known intellect and apparent culture would flee from a higher to a lower stratum of civilization in order to find more congenial companionship.

Finally, was he shirking work? A perusal of the records of his sittings fail to indicate that he was in anywise derelict in his attendance at the time and place where his labor was to be performed. His terms were held regularly and ran the usual and ordinary course, if we are to judge by the standards that prevail to-day in reckoning the amount of work that ought to be turned out in a given time.

There is a persistent tradition, however, that there were times when his longing to enjoy the piscatorial pleasures of the season beguiled him into forgetfulness of the "wise saws and modern instances" of his profession, on which occasions, it is said that, rod in hand, he would steal away from the turmoil of the court and angle for fish in some nearby stream or small lake, with which the country was then well supplied.

One does not have to dig deep into the opinions handed down by Judge Cook and his compeers to see that all was not in perfect accord among the judges. Judge Jones wrote twenty leading, or deciding, opinions and also half that many dissenting opinions. Six of these dissents were to the work of Judge McGirk and four to that of Judge Cook.

This apparently pugnacious attitude of Judge Jones did not provoke retaliatory measures on the part of either of his associates. Judge Cook wrote but two dissenting opinions and Judge McGirk a like number.

It is at least probable that the disparity in the ages of Judge Jones and the other members of the court may have caused them to take different attitudes toward some of the questions that arose. Then, too, Judge Jones had been a fellow-member of a territorial general assembly with the elder brother of Judge Cook, had been a member of another session of this assembly along with Judge Cook, had been a joint member of the constitutional convention with both the Cooks and had been a rival aspirant for the United States senatorship against Nathaniel Cook. These matters may have carried

over into the associations on the bench as silent, but none the less potent, causes of friction.

Judge McGirk, being more militant and self-assertive, went on with his work up to and for many years after, the death of Judge Jones in 1824, but Judge Cook resigned.

The number of the circuit of which Judge Cook became the presiding officer was soon changed from the fourth to the tenth circuit. From time to time new counties were added and new courts opened and held.

The circuit courts of Stoddard, Dunklin and Mississippi counties were organized by Judge Cook. The two latter at the end, practically, of his term of service.

## PIONEER DAYS IN WEST PLAINS AND HOWELL COUNTY\*

BY ALICE CAREY RISLEY

The first settler within the present limits of Howell county was a hunter named Adams, who settled at the "town spring," in the summer of 1839. His nearest neighbor was twenty miles away. Adams sold his improvements to Josiah Howell, who may be called the first permanent settler in the county which now bears his name.

In 1840 Eli L. Tabor settled on Spring Creek. He was, so far as can be learned, the only settler of that year. In 1841 Nathan McCammon settled three miles east of West Plains, and about the same time a man named Hutton located in the valley. He was one of that class of pioneers, now extinct, who could not bear to be crowded, and finding that he had neighbors within eighteen or twenty miles, he left his valley in disgust and plunged still deeper into the western wilderness.

At that time in the history of the county there were no roads. The first public road of which we have any account was located by A. V. Tabor and ran down North Fork.

The inhabitants of the county then went to St. Louis or Batesville to dispose of their furs and skins and to lay in the necessary supplies of groceries, medicine and ammunition. In 1841 A. V. Tabor went forty miles to mill. There were then no saw mills: floors and doors of the houses were made of hewed puncheons. Even coffins were made from the puncheons hewed thin and dressed smooth with a plane.

There was as much interest taken in politics then, as now. I have heard Uncle Andy Tabor tell how he went through the woods thirty miles to an election, carrying with him a keg of whiskey; and that on the way he fell in with three other men, each with a keg of "corn juice," and that they had a "jolly good time."

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\*This sketch was written thirty-one years ago and read before a meeting of the Farmers' Institute in West Plains. It was published in the *West Plains Weekly Quill*, November 24, 1927.

As late as 1846 hunting bands of Indians from the Delaware, Kaw and Shawnee tribes visited this county frequently. At this time the woods were full of bear, deer, elk and other game. It was no uncommon thing then to see fifty or sixty elk in one drove. A good hunting dog was worth as much as a good horse.

In 1850 there was but one postoffice. It was kept by Josephus Howell, about one mile east of the public square in West Plains, and was christened West Plains by Judge John R. Woodside. At that time scarcely a stick of timber grew in sight of the spring in West Plains. From any of the hills a man could be seen for miles down the valley, which has since been covered with a dense growth of timber.

In the legislature of 1856-7 a bill was passed forming the present county of Howell. Benjamin Alsup, James Ellison and Joseph H. Russell were the first county justices, Joseph Howell the first clerk. Judge Woodside was the first circuit attorney. The first circuit court was held in a little log cabin one mile east of West Plains. There was but one case on the docket.

The county prospered and gradually increased in population until the breaking out of the rebellion. At that time the population was about three thousand, two hundred. West Plains was a village of about one hundred and fifty souls.

When the war broke out differences of opinion naturally occurred. Warm friends became estranged and soon were enemies. The situation of the county made it a thoroughfare for all the raiding parties of both armies, and the people soon were compelled to seek a country less dangerous. Only about one dozen families remained in the county during the war. In 1863 there was not a soul in West Plains. Dabner Pennington says that he was in the town in the summer of that year, and the only living thing he saw was a cat. The doors of the tenantless houses swung idly to and fro, the curtainless sashes rattled in the breeze; tall weeds filled the streets. He returned home determined to leave the country. In the fall of 1863 three or four guerillas, led by a man named Watson, burned the town! Not a house was left standing.

At the close of the war the refugees from the county began to return. They found only ashes where they had left comfortable homes. It was a desolate outlook and would have discouraged a less resolute people. Among them were veterans of both armies. They put their shoulders to the wheel and soon were surrounded with the comforts of home.

In 1868 Captain E. F. Hynes and others purchased a press and established a small newspaper called *The Type of the Times*. The paper survived only a few months. In 1870 B. F. Olden and Sam A. Risley established *The South Missouri Journal*, since changed to *West Plains Journal*, the first permanent newspaper in Howell county.

By 1871 the county had increased rapidly in population, and by 1873 the number of inhabitants was estimated to be about seven thousand. In the winter of 1873 B. F. Olden, J. H. Maxey and Sam A. Risley located a steam saw mill in the pinery on Dry Creek. On the twenty-fifth of February the first steam whistle awoke the echoes in the hills of Howell county. In the summer of the same year C. T. Bolin erected the first steam flouring mill.

I came to the county in January, 1873, a kind of side partner to the new saw mill. Coincident with my arrival many funny things happened which it would be best, perhaps, to leave out of this paper. One joke on myself it can offend no one to relate. The first time I came down town Will Green, son of W. W. Green, rushed home to tell his mother that he had seen Sam Risley's wife. Naturally she inquired, "What does she look like?" He replied: "I never noticed her looks; but she has ears just like saddle flaps."

I know now that I was as much a curiosity to the people of Dry and Spring creeks as they were to me. To come out of the heart of St. Louis, and settle eighteen miles from town twenty-five years ago (now fifty-four years ago) was a change which the people who have come here since the day of railroads can have no conception of. We were often six weeks without mail.

All the people around us were comparatively new. At least they had not lived on their farms long enough to accumu-

late much besides their cotton and tobacco patches and a pack of hounds.

If we had possessed all the gold in the Klondike we could not have purchased a pound of butter, lard, meat, or a quart of milk. Anything but wild meat was unknown. We had forethought enough to bring coffee with us from St. Louis, and we have lived for weeks on corn bread made with salt and water, and coffee without cream. Indeed, that was the bill of fare most of the time until we could raise our own garden.

All the people wore homespun. And I must say I never saw handsomer plaids anywhere then some of the homespun dresses my neighbors wore. As for the coverlets—I to this day crave one of the many beautiful ones I have seen at Uncle Andy Tabor's, beautiful both in coloring and design.

Before I leave the saw mill period, I must add that a more generous, whole-souled, big-hearted people never lived than I found on Spring and Dry creeks.

I made my first advent into Howell county in a one-horse buggy, (the only buggy in Howell county) from Rolla, a distance of one hundred miles. I afterward made the trip four different times. We old timers who used to travel that road knew all of the people from here to Rolla better than I know the residents of West Plains today, and we can tell many ludicrous anecdotes of those trips.

We had two mails a week, which came via Houston. That is, we had two mails a week if the waters were not up, or the contractor's time expired and the new one failed to materialize. At such times we have been two weeks without mail.

There was one school house. I went to it one night to a magic lantern performance, and it seemed a long walk through the woods and rock and stumps. And although the elite of the town was there, there was room for all, and some to spare. The house still stands, and is the residence of T. J. Gordon, only a short distance from the square.

There were only three houses west of Washington avenue. The remaining territory was covered with timber and underbrush. It may sound a little "fishy," but nevertheless the following incident is true: In the summer of 1875 I started



from my home on Washington avenue to call on a sick lady, Mrs. Bookout, who lived in a little square house where the brick residence of M. E. Benson now stands. There were no streets and I was told to "follow the path." I started out and followed a path, which was one of many hog paths, and came out about where Henry Moore lives. I well remember my fright, for I thought I was a veritable "babe in the woods." Suffice it to say, I got there at last—literally covered with seed ticks.

The only church was the one on Washington avenue, now used as a restaurant on Washington avenue. To the best of my knowledge the building did not belong to any one denomination, and was used on alternate sabbaths by the different local preachers.

We all went to church in those days, and we who remember that far back often speak of the kindly, whole-souled neighborly times we had. It made no difference what your politics or religion was, we all met there as one family. And what immaculate white aprons and white ruffled sunbonnets we wore, each one perfectly satisfied that her toilette was just as good as any. It has always been a sad thought to me that as the town grew, and the different churches were built, we, who used to be as one family, drifted apart and are comparative strangers; simply because we seldom meet unless we go to their church or their special society meeting.

When Mr. Risley came here in 1870, the square was covered with hazel brush, with paths across it. I have heard him say that B. F. Olden, Jim Galloway and himself were the only men in town who wore "store clothes," and that he had to keep his Sunday coat locked in his trunk lest someone should borrow it, without asking, to wear to a dance. If the borrower happened to be fifty or a hundred pounds heavier, it was disastrous to the coat. The days when men began to wear "store clothes" are coincident with the times when we called for "store tea" if we didn't want sassafras; and when we began to yearn for "store" ingrain to replace our well worn rag carpets.

The coming of the freight wagons with new goods was always a gala event. We could see the covered wagons com-

ing down the hill into the lane as they came into town bringing new things that seemed to put us in touch with the outside world. We could tell from the hill in "Illinois town" whose team it was, and of course we knew whose goods they were.

We were dependent upon our own resources for amusement, and there were a few bright, genial souls who kept things moving. When one of our citizens returned from Arkansas with a bullet hole in his coat, saying someone tried to assassinate him, we had the foundation for a farcical joke which furnished much entertainment for the town. After due deliberation it was decided that the coat must have been hanging on a limb when the shot was fired, as the wearer would have been instantly killed had the coat been on his back. That was enough to arouse the wags. Court was in session and a good many strangers were in town. An indignation meeting was called, Howell county seceded from the Union and declared war against Arkansas. The meeting was held in a grove where the Methodist church now stands, and lasted all night. Speeches were made with all the fire and vigor of a genuine war. All the officers, from president down, were elected, cabinet offices were filled, foreign diplomats appointed, and Howell county started out to paddle her own canoe. Most of the participants of that meeting are now dead.

I wish I could describe the first dance I attended in the old frame court house. Party dresses in those days consisted of a light calico skirt with dark calico waist, or vice versa. As calico was fifteen and twenty cents per yard, it was quite stylish for dress occasions. Only quadrills were danced, and while two couples danced to each other, the opposite couples stood in the dim light with their arms around each other; when their time came the other couples rested in the same position.

When Mr. Risley was made postmaster in August, 1876, the top of a goods box was used for a delivery table, and it is my recollection that we still had but two mails a week. His first delivery table was made about the size of an old-fashioned washstand, and had a square top and raised sides. It was made a money order office in 1878, the first money order

being issued to J. R. Galloway, July 1. Until the West Plains Bank was established in 1884, the money order business was no small feature of the postoffice. After I was made assistant postmaster I frequently described in duplicate form fifteen hundred dollars in five dollar bills—the money order business of the previous day. All the financial business of the merchants and county officials was transacted through the postoffice.

When the daily mail was established between West Plains and Rolla, and the hack was put on, we began to put on metropolitan airs, and talk about sidewalks, electric lights and stock laws. Some progressive spirits even discussed water works and cable cars.

When a passenger came in on the hack, we were all agog to know his business, where he came from, what he came for, and what his name might be. Everybody knew that a man had come to town, and it was a topic of general conversation. Jim Davis, the driver, was a wag in his way, and used to tell the tenderfoot who had the courage to make the day and night ride, some wonderful hair-raising stories of the moonshiners and mail robbers; and he told them of the dozens of people who had been murdered and robbed on the road over the Jack's Fork hills. I think it was partly to keep himself awake that Jim drew on his imagination to weave the extraordinary tales he used to tell. Jim Davis, with his horses, "Telegraph" and "Shellbark," was the connecting link with the outside world—the short line to civilization.

The uninterrupted progress of our people is demonstrated in the number of splendid schools, our business houses, and our substantial churches. We have never had a boom in the strict sense of the word, but we have never retrograded. From the time I came here the improvements have been continuous—slow, but sure.

With the iron horse came many additions to the population of West Plains and Howell county. The freight wagons and mail hacks have passed away. The old landmarks, with but few exceptions, have vanished, and in their place we have a thriving, bustling, busy city, with all the improvements

and conveniences of modern civilization. The haunts of the deer and turkey have given place to vineyards, orchards, farms and meadows, well populated by thrifty people.

The old days are gone, but we have the memories we love to cherish.

## MISSOURI POLITICS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

BY SCEVA BRIGHT LAUGHLIN

### CHAPTER III

#### THE OLD FLAG OR THE NEW, 1860-1861

THE TWENTY-FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, DECEMBER  
31, 1860—MARCH 28, 1861

When the Twenty-first general assembly met at Jefferson City, December 31, 1860, South Carolina had already seceded and Missouri was confronted with the momentous question of choosing between the Union and secession.

One of the first acts in the House was the election of a speaker. John McAfee of Shelby, a pronounced pro-slavery Breckenridge Democrat, was elected to this position by a vote of 77 to 43 over Marcus Boyd of Green, a Constitutional Unionist. Thomas L. Price of Cole, a Douglas Democrat, received but 4 votes. This action shows that the Democrats of the House were quite well united on the vital issue of the day.<sup>1</sup>

On January 3, 1861, Governor R. M. Stewart, a native of New York and an anti-Benton Democrat of moderate views, delivered his farewell address to the joint assembly. He attacked the abolition fanatics and insisted that the North should give proper guaranties to the South that she would be protected in her constitutional right of taking her property into any part of the common territory of the United States. Because of her geographical position, he continued, Missouri had a right to a voice in the councils of the nation. "As matters are at present Missouri will stand to her lot, and hold to the Union so long as it is worth an effort to preserve it. So long as there is hope of success she will seek for justice within the Union. She cannot be frightened from her propriety by the

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<sup>1</sup>*Missouri House Journal*, 21st General Assembly, p. 9.

past unfriendly legislation of the North, nor dragooned into secession by the restrictive legislation of the extreme South. . . . She will rather take the high position of armed neutrality. She is at present, able to take care of herself, and will be neither forced nor flattered, driven or coaxed, into a course of action that must end in her own destruction. . . . The very idea of the right of voluntary secession is not only absurd in itself, but utterly destructive of every principle on which national faith is founded . . . ."<sup>2</sup>

On the afternoon of the second day of the session, the incoming governor, Claiborne Fox Jackson, delivered his inaugural address, the whole tone and attitude of which was more extreme than that of his predecessor. "The destiny of the slave-holding States of this Union," he said, "is one and the same. So long as a State continues to maintain slavery within her limits, it is impossible to separate her fate from that of her sister States who have the same social organization. . . . In the event of a failure to reconcile the conflicting interests which now threaten the disruption of the existing Union, interest and sympathy alike combine to unite the fortunes of all the slave-holding States. . . . Missouri will not be found to shrink from the duty which her position upon the border imposes; her honor, her interests, and her sympathies point alike in one direction, and determine her to stand by the South. . . . Missouri, then, in my opinion, will best consult her own interests, and the interest of the whole country by a timely declaration of her determination to stand by her sister slave-holding States, in whose wrongs she participates, and with whose institutions and people she sympathizes." He recommended the calling of a convention of the slave-holding states which should formulate such amendments to the constitution, as they should judge necessary, and present them to the northern states for their action. He also advised the calling of a state convention immediately which should define Missouri's position on the questions then pending before the country. It was possible, moreover, that this convention would be called upon to instruct the delegates

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<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 18-43.

who might be sent to the convention of all the slave-holding states mentioned above.<sup>3</sup>

A bill, making provision for the calling of such a convention, was soon introduced in both Houses. It passed the lower House, January 17, by a vote of 105 to 18, and the Senate, the next day, by a vote of 30 to 2, and was signed by the governor, January 21, 1861. This bill provided for the election, on February 18, of 99 delegates, three times the number of state senators.

The important sections of this act were the fifth and tenth, which read as follows: Fifth. "The delegates elected under the provisions of this act shall assemble at Jefferson City, on Thursday, the 28th day of February, 1861, and organize themselves into a Convention, by the election of a President, and such other officers as they may deem necessary; and shall proceed to consider the then existing relations between the Government of the United States, the people and Governments of the different States, and the Government and people of the State of Missouri, and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State, and protection of its institutions, as shall appear to them to be demanded." Tenth. "No act, ordinance, or resolution of said Convention shall be deemed to be valid to change or dissolve the political relations of this State to the Government of the United States, or any other State, until a majority of the qualified voters of this State voting upon this question, shall ratify the same." The tenth section was an amendment and had passed by only a small majority.<sup>4</sup>

Of the 18 opponents of the bill, as a whole, in the House, 11 were Republicans; 2, Douglas Democrats; 4, Constitutional Unionists; and 1, a Breckenridge Democrat. One Republican and one Breckenridge Democrat opposed the bill in the Senate. No Republicans in either House voted for it.<sup>5</sup>

There was considerable discussion as to the powers of this convention. One group maintained that it would be a

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 45-53.

<sup>4</sup>*Laws of Missouri, Regular Session, 21st General Assembly, 1861*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>5</sup>*Missouri House Journal, op. cit.*, pp. 106-107; *Missouri Senate Journal, op. cit.*, p. 96.

strictly representative body acting for and in the name of the sovereign people and its action could not be restricted by the law calling it together. Another group held that it would be a collection of delegates appointed by the people whose power would be limited to the functions and duties specified in the act calling the body together. The latter view was accepted by a vote of 81 to 40. The Senate debated the same question and the action of the House just mentioned. Section ten, the amendment referred to above, which had originated in the Senate, was the decision of both Houses in the matter.<sup>6</sup>

It was quite generally believed that the calling of the convention was the work of the secessionists who intended and expected that it would take the state out of the Union. They felt so sure that the people were with them that they did not seem to realize or to care that the tenth section of the act would really mean a second submission of the secession question to the people.<sup>7</sup>

During the afternoon session of the Senate and the House on January 18, 1861, Governor Jackson sent a message to each stating that the Honorable Daniel R. Russell, commissioner from the state of Mississippi, was present, charged with the mission of informing the people of Missouri that the legislature of Mississippi had called a convention to consider the threatening relations between the North and the South and expressing the hope that Missouri would co-operate with Mississippi "in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defense and safety of the slave-holding States."<sup>8</sup> The legislature arranged at once to hear him that night at a joint session.

Thomas C. Reynolds,<sup>9</sup> lieutenant-governor, presided over this session and announced that: "When the Com-

<sup>6</sup>Switzer, W. F., *History of Missouri*, pp. 305-306.

<sup>7</sup>*Missouri Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1860, "The object in calling for a Convention is to commit Missouri to secession"; *Missouri Statesman*, Jan. 1, 1860, ".... the straight-out secession members of our Legislature—and there are a few in each House—want to precipitate the question of disunion. They want a State Convention and secession by March 4 if possible." *The Jefferson City Daily Inquirer*, Jan. 10, 1861, opposed the state convention as a disunion measure.

<sup>8</sup>*Missouri House Journal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

<sup>9</sup>Thomas C. Reynolds had a brilliancy of planning and a boldness of execution that Governor Jackson lacked. In fact he prepared many of Jackson's official papers for him and put out a number on his own initiative. Early in



missioner from the State of Mississippi is announced, the members of the general assembly will rise to receive him," whereupon John D. Stevenson, a Republican representative from St. Louis, sprang up and inquired: "Are we here, Mr. President, to do homage to the ambassador of some foreign potentate?" After a brief but spirited altercation, Reynolds changed his command to a request. The commissioner was thereupon introduced and delivered a long address. The gist of which was to the effect that Mississippi had seceded and was now asking Missouri to do likewise and to help form a Southern confederacy.<sup>10</sup> The speech and its sentiments were greeted with great applause but the legislature, just a few hours previous, by its own act, had delegated to another body the power of complying with his request.

A few days later a commission of five men was appointed to attend the Peace Conference at Washington.<sup>11</sup>

A successor to Senator Green was elected at this session. According to the pre-election agreement with the treacherous supporters of Douglas, Green was to be returned to the Senate, but when the time came his partners could not make good their side of the bargain. James S. Green<sup>12</sup> had been one of the most outspoken secessionists in the entire state. He had

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May he left for Arkansas and the South to ask for military intervention in Missouri. One of the most valuable pieces of primary source material for the spring of 1861 is the *Manuscript & Correspondence* of Thomas C. Reynolds written in 1867. The particular work examined is a typewritten copy in the Library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. The original is in possession of Reynolds' nephew, Mr. George Savage of Baltimore, Md.

<sup>10</sup>Snead, T. L., *The Fight for Missouri*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>11</sup>This was the convention that was called by Virginia and over which ex-President Tyler presided. It was in session Feb. 4-27, 1861. Twenty-one states were represented. It recommended to Congress, as a plan of adjusting the slavery question, a constitutional amendment, a little less favorable to the South than the Crittenden compromise. On March 4, Senator Crittenden presented the report of the convention in the Senate. It received 7 votes. Rhodes, J. F., *History of U. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 291, 305-306. The Crittenden Compromise was a series of proposed constitutional amendments intended to settle the slavery question forever along lines similar to the Missouri compromise. Chadwick, F. E., *Causes of the Civil War*, pp. 170-173.

<sup>12</sup>By November, 1861, his secession ardor had decidedly cooled. He visited Washington and had a pleasant interview with President Lincoln. He affirmed his strong attachment to the Union and after practicing law for a short time before the Supreme Court, retired to Missouri where he lived quietly through the war. He was bitterly reproached by his old associates for getting them into trouble and leaving them in the lurch. *Missouri Statesman*, Nov. 8, Dec. 20, 1861, Aug. 29, 1862; *Canton Press*, Sept. 4, 1862.

strongly opposed Benton and Douglas, and just as vigorously supported Breckenridge. James G. Blaine pronounced him one of the ablest debaters in the United States Senate. His successor, Waldo P. Johnson, a Breckenridge Democrat, was elected on the fifteenth ballot. The vote then stood Johnson 81; A. W. Doniphan, a former Whig and a Constitutional Unionist, 36; Thomas B. English, a Douglas Democrat, 29.<sup>13</sup>

A significant law, passed at this session, put the appointment and absolute control of the police force of St. Louis in the hands of the governor and the Senate.<sup>14</sup>

Another important law gave the exclusive monopoly of public printing in St. Louis county to Moritz Niedener.<sup>15</sup> This law served the double purpose of penalizing the Union press and of subsidizing a secession printer.<sup>16</sup>

From the southern standpoint the great failure of this legislature was its refusal to pass a military bill that would have armed the state.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE ELECTION OF THE STATE CONVENTION

The campaign for the election of delegates to the state convention began even before the convention bill was passed. On January sixth, we find James O. Broadhead writing to Abiel Leonard and urging him to write to other men, such as, J. B. Henderson, George Anderson, ——— Porter of Hannibal and William Newland of Ralls, to become candidates for the convention. Broadhead had been a Whig but voted for Lincoln. Henderson had been a Douglas Democrat but was to become a steadfast Republican. Broadhead had little hopes of finding safe Union men among the prominent Bell or Douglas men of St. Louis.<sup>18</sup> About the same time the pro-slavery,

<sup>13</sup>*House Journal, op. cit.*, p. 559; Switzler, W. F., *op. cit.*, p. 312.

<sup>14</sup>*Missouri Laws, op. cit.*, pp. 446-453.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 100-102.

<sup>16</sup>Peckham, James, *Lyon and Missouri in 1861*, p. 26.

<sup>17</sup>Snead, Thomas L., *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>18</sup>James O. Broadhead to A. Leonard, St. Louis, Jan. 6, 1861, "I really cannot name a man of the Bell and Everett party here in St. Louis to whom you could write in safety—they have all been so much corrupted by an idea which has been urged with a great deal of perseverance, that it would be to the interest of St. Louis to be in a Southern Confederacy, that she would be the great manufacturing city of such a Confederacy—that it's difficult to find a

state rights people began a more aggressive campaign. For sometime the southern extremists had been disappointed with the position of the St. Louis papers. Early in January, Thomas L. Snead took charge of the *Bulletin* with the purpose of advocating, before March 4, a final settlement of the slavery question satisfactory to the slave holders.<sup>19</sup>

Early in the campaign very strong sentiment developed that the secession of Missouri would mean her economic ruin. The argument ran about as follows: Secession would make of her neighboring free states a Canadian haven for runaway slaves; their value would at once depreciate; slavery was most profitable in the hemp industry and a free trade southern confederacy would destroy this stronghold of slavery; slaves could not compete with white labor in raising grain, cultivating vineyards or in mining; southern capital would not develop Missouri's mineral resources under any circumstances; eastern capital would do this only if Missouri stayed in the Union.<sup>20</sup>

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safe union man among the prominent men of that party—and the Douglas men have been so much under the influence of the Republican that they are just as bad—Breckenridge I have not talked with. The Evening News, on Saturday, took a decided stand in favor of the Union. It is very important to get the Bell and Everett men in the Legislature to take the right ground and you could do a great deal in that direction."

<sup>19</sup>*Missouri Democrat*, Jan. 6, 1861, copied from *St. Louis Bulletin*, "The *Bulletin*, will, under my control, advocate, earnestly and zealously, a full and final settlement, before the fourth day of March next, of all the questions which now disturb the peace of the country, and it will insist that they shall be settled upon such terms as will guarantee the equality and the safety of the slaveholding States within the Union or their independence out of it."—Thomas L. Snead.

<sup>20</sup>*Missouri Republican*, Jan. 10, 1861, "Does Southern capital tend to investment in mineral lands, for the purpose of developing them. . . . If this State ever succeeds in developing her mineral resources—that if this city ever assumes her true position, it must be by the indefatigable energy and activity of her own capitalists, miners and mechanics, aided by the accession of Eastern capital, experienced native and foreign miners, and Eastern mechanics. Now, will these accessions be best obtained by remaining in the Union or by Secession? Certainly not by secession." *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1861, *Jefferson Daily Inquirer*, Jan. 10, 1861. The *Missouri Democrat*, Jan. 25, 1861, "Hemp and Secession." See a letter of Rollins to R. E. Dunn, from Columbia, Mo., Feb. 2, 1861: "Will we not by this act (disunion) bring to our very doors a Canadian frontier of 800 miles, inviting the escape of all the slaves in the State, and without any power whatever to reclaim them? In short, is not Disunion to us at once an act to emancipate all the slaves of the State and under circumstances to keep up a constant warfare between the people of our own and neighboring free States?" Smith, *Life of Rollins*, pp. 124-225, *passim*.

A keen realization of the gravity of the political situation and the impending economic disaster in case of secession had two important results. One was that the campaign was non-partisan, that is, the candidates did not run on any ticket previously in common use, nor were the old party names employed. Indeed, this attitude was so well maintained that it has been impossible to this day to discover the former political affiliation of some of the delegates elected. The second result was to bring out in many cases an unusual class of candidates, not the ordinary office-seeking politicians, but solid, substantial and conservative business and professional men.<sup>21</sup>

The date set for the election was so soon after its official announcement that the time for campaigning, especially in the more remote counties, was very short. The weekly press had scarcely time to get out two or three issues. In general it was a whirlwind campaign while it lasted. Although the issue was quite well understood to be union or secession, very few believed there would be war in either case.

Francis Preston Blair, Jr., and a few associates in St. Louis seemed to be almost the only unconditional unionists who felt war to be inevitable. Their organization and drilling of troops, chiefly Germans in St. Louis, is a part of military history and except in its political aspect has no place in this discussion.

During the presidential campaign of 1860 the Republicans of St. Louis had organized clubs called the Wide Awakes, whose duty it was to preserve order at political meetings. The Southern sympathizers also had an organization called the Minute Men. Blair and his associates realized that there were not enough Republicans in Missouri to hold her in the Union and further that even the name Republican was so repulsive to other unionists that they would not co-operate. It was, therefore, decided to drop the offensive party name and to reorganize the Wide Awakes as Union clubs. The

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<sup>21</sup>"Let them [the people of St. Louis] send no prominent representatives of parties to the Convention. Let them send only representatives of the business, the capital and the labor of St. Louis," *St. Louis Evening News*, Jan. 28, 1861.

latter was done at a public meeting at Washington Hall on the night of January eleventh.<sup>22</sup>

On the night of the twelfth, there was a great union meeting in which they took no part.<sup>23</sup> This meeting resulted in the nomination of a full ticket, on February 4, called the Constitutional Union Ticket. This apparently had no connection with the ticket of that name in November, 1860. Two of the candidates on this ticket, Uriel Wright and Hamilton R. Gamble, both formerly Whigs and Bell-Everett men, were later, February 6, placed on the Citizens Unconditional Union Ticket. This meeting defined the issue as being for or against compromise.<sup>24</sup> The second ticket was supported by the *Missouri Republican*, a Democratic paper that had supported Douglas.

The third element in this struggle, those who believed in secession, conditional secession, or state rights, generally used the name States' Rights Ticket or Anti-Submission Ticket.<sup>25</sup>

The total vote in the state was about 140,000 and the majority for the Union men, both conditional and uncon-

<sup>22</sup>Peckham, James, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Blair finally achieved the former though in spite of strong opposition from the Republicans. By great skill and tact he succeeded in having a composite ticket put in the field under the name of the Citizens Unconditional Union Ticket. The nominees were seven Douglas Democrats, three Bell-Everett men and four who had voted for Lincoln. This ticket was backed by the *Missouri Democrat* which had supported Lincoln and the *Evening News* which had supported Bell. It was of course also supported by the Republicans.

<sup>23</sup>"It will be noticed, and we are very glad to be able to put it on record, that the Black Republicans did not participate in this meeting—that the leaders in a published handbill expressly advised their political friends and followers to refrain from taking any part in it, and this injunction was observed. We have a great deal more desire to show to the country that they took no action whatever in the matter than to acknowledge their cooperation in it. Let them slide." *Missouri Republican*, Jan. 13, 1861.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1861. The substance of the article was, Elect Mr. Blair and you elect a "No Compromise" ticket. "It means civil war and nothing else."

"True Blue Union Meeting  
The Campaign Opened  
No Secession! No Coercion!  
How to Preserve the Republic  
Blair & Co. Exposed" *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1861.

<sup>25</sup>"State Rights  
[Picture of an eagle].  
Anti-Submission Ticket.  
For the State Convention," *Missouri Statesman*, Feb. 22, 1861.

ditional, was 80,000, that is, 110,000 to 30,000.<sup>26</sup> No authority has been found to claim the election of a single secessionist per se or of an abolitionist. The Citizens Unconditional Union ticket won in St. Louis by a majority of 5,000 in a total vote of 25,000.<sup>27</sup>

W. L. Webb in his book, *Battles and Biographies of Missourians*, classifies the 99 members as follows: 52 unconditional union men and 47 who believed in secession under certain circumstances. Among the 99 members 88 were slave holders.<sup>28</sup> There were only about 4 Republicans elected and they were all from St. Louis. No Breckenridge Democrat was elected so far as is known. A very high percentage, especially of the leaders, had been Whigs and Bell-Everett men. The results of the election were very disappointing to the state officials and the members of the legislature who had urged the calling of the convention.<sup>29</sup>

It is quite unanimously agreed that the convention was composed of an exceptionally able group of men, perhaps the ablest ever assembled in the state. Their average age was a little over 45 years. Their nativity was as follows: Virginia 29, Kentucky 30, Tennessee 9, North Carolina 3, Maryland 2, Alabama 1, District of Columbia 1, Missouri 13—the total from the slave states being 82; Illinois 2, Maine 1, New Hampshire 3, Pennsylvania 3, Ohio 1, New York 3, New Jersey 1—the total from the free states being 13; Prussia 1, Bremen 1, Austria 1, Ireland 1—the total foreign being 4. The principal occupations represented were: lawyers 45, farmers 26, merchants 11, judges 7, physicians 3.<sup>30</sup>

No doubt the presence of so many lawyers in the convention was responsible for the numerous long speeches on the theory of government in general and of our federal union in particular. These debates, exhaustive (alike to speaker and listener) resumes of the whole field of human endeavor, were replete with allusions, historical, mythological, literary and personal.

<sup>26</sup>*Proceedings, Missouri State Convention*, June, 1863, p. 16.

<sup>27</sup>Snead, Thomas L., *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>28</sup>*Proceedings, op. cit.*, June, 1863, p. 318. Statement of John B. Henderson.

<sup>29</sup>Snead, Thomas L., *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>30</sup>*Journal and Proceedings, op. cit.*, March, 1861, pp. 5-7.

THE STATE CONVENTION, FIRST SESSION, FEBRUARY  
28—MARCH 22, 1861

The convention met for its first session in Jefferson City, February 28, 1861. Sterling Price of Chariton, a Douglas Democrat and a brother-in-law of Governor Jackson, was chosen president by a vote of 75 to 15 over Nathaniel W. Watkins, a Whig and a Bell-Everett elector and a half-brother of Henry Clay. Price had been elected to the convention as a strong union man. Both he and Watkins later served in the Southern army. Robert Wilson of Andrew, a well known Whig, was elected vice-president without opposition.<sup>31</sup>

The first real contest in the convention came on the second day when the proposition, to require each member to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States and of the state of Missouri, was adopted by a vote 65 to 30 but only after strong opposition.<sup>32</sup>

On the same day the convention adjourned to meet in St. Louis, March 4. The reasons assigned for making the change were, that, there was no convenient hall in Jefferson City, the legislature being still in session there, that, the Mercantile Library of St. Louis had offered a suitable hall free of charge and that the railroad company had offered the delegates free transportation.<sup>33</sup> The real motive back of the move was, no doubt, the desire to be in an atmosphere more friendly to the Union.

On the same day, Luther J. Glenn, a commissioner from Georgia, arrived at Jefferson City for the purpose of asking Missouri to secede and join the Confederacy. He presented his credentials to Governor Jackson and that night he was serenaded by the secessionists to whom the governor introduced him as "the Hon. Mr. Glenn from our Southern sister State of Georgia, with whose interests Missouri is eternally identified," and to them he delivered a secession speech.<sup>34</sup> On the day following, the governor notified the

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<sup>31</sup>*Journal, op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup>*Proceedings, op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>34</sup>Peckham, James, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

general assembly that the commissioner desired to confer with that body upon the subject of his mission. A joint resolution was rushed through within a few hours granting his request and appointing that same night, Saturday, March 2, for his address to the joint session.<sup>35</sup> Secession enthusiasm ran high in Jefferson City on these two days and nights. It probably never reached as high a point again.

On the following Monday, March 4, Commissioner Glenn appeared in St. Louis and asked permission to address the convention. After a very spirited debate, the request was granted by a vote of 62 to 35. The burden of his speech was along the well known lines of northern aggression on the constitutionally protected slave rights of the South. The speech was greeted with applause and hisses which the chairman suppressed with difficulty.<sup>36</sup>

The next day, March 5, two important committees were appointed: the first, a committee of seven on federal relations, of which Hamilton R. Gamble was chairman; the second, a committee of seven to draft a reply to the speech of Mr. Glenn. John B. Henderson was chairman of the second committee.<sup>37</sup>

On the eighth of March, Dr. Linton of St. Louis introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Inaugural Address of President Lincoln is one of peace, and not of war." A number of the members considered this a test issue and felt that the attitude of the people of Missouri would be determined by their action on it. A motion to table the resolution was laid on the table by a vote of 52 to 37. The issue was thus dodged. Several members in explaining their votes said they thought it was a peace message but that a discussion of the matter would create trouble. On the following day, the convention decided without debate and with only one dissenting vote that the action of laying the motion, relative to Lincoln's address, on the table, was not to "be considered as any test whatever of the sense of the Convention relative to the sentiments enunciated in said resolution."<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup>*Missouri Senate Journal, 1st Session, 21st General Assembly, p. 337; Missouri House Journal, op. cit., pp. 418-420.*

<sup>36</sup>*Proceedings, op. cit., pp. 11-20.*

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid., p. 20, 25.*

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid., pp. 46-53.*



On the ninth of March, Gamble as chairman of the committee on federal relations, made the following report: 1. "Resolved, That at present there is no adequate cause to impel Missouri to dissolve her connection with the Federal Union, but on the contrary she will labor for such an adjustment of existing troubles as will secure the peace as well as the rights and equality of the States." 2. The second resolution was to the effect that the people of the state loved the Union and wanted peace and harmony restored. 3. The Crittenden resolutions were approved. 4. A national constitutional convention was proposed to be called in accordance with the fifth article of the federal constitution. 5. "Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, the employment of military force by the Federal Government to coerce the submission of the seceding States, or the employment of military force by the seceding States to assail the Government of the United States, will inevitably plunge this country into civil war, and thereby extinguish all hope of an amicable settlement of the fearful issues now pending before the country; we therefore earnestly entreat, as well the Federal Government as the seceding States, to withhold and stay the arm of military power and on no pretense whatever bring upon the nation the horrors of civil war." 6. Upon adjournment the convention should meet in Jefferson City, December, 1861. 7. The convention should elect a committee which should have the power of calling the convention together sooner if necessary. In the part of the report, preceding these resolutions, there appeared the statement that the North had abused the South, but the government itself had been fair. The report further stated, "In a military aspect, secession and a connection with a Southern Confederacy is annihilation for our State," and, in an economic sense it would mean the destruction of slavery.<sup>39</sup>

The range of the debates on the various questions at issue embraced the origin, structure and object of the federal constitution, the rights of the states and of the people, secession, nullification and revolution.

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<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 55-58.

One of the ablest men in the convention was Sample Orr of Greene who had run for governor as a Constitutional Unionist in 1860. He was strongly opposed to permitting the commissioner from Georgia to address the convention. In his witty and sarcastic style he pointed out that some called this man a commissioner, others called him an ambassador. If he were an ambassador, he missed the place; he should have gone to Washington City. If he were a commissioner from a sister state their oath forbade their forming an alliance with another state in the Confederacy, and in the course of his remarks, he said: "I do not believe, if they [the members] had told the people that they were coming here to haul down the stars and stripes and run up the Palmetto flag, that they intended to swap the American eagle for the pelican, that they had determined to barter off Yankee Doodle for the African song, Dixie—I do not believe, if they had done this, that a solitary individual would have been elected." Later, when discussing the report of the committee on federal relations, he took the position that the seceded states were not and could not really be out of the Union. He was always ready to aid Lincoln in the discharge of any constitutional duty. He was firmly attached to the institution of slavery and believed that it had advanced this great government far ahead of what it otherwise would have been. Secession for Missouri would destroy all her slave property within one year's time. He further stated that the action of the convention was disappointing to those who called it into existence and consequently they were now talking of repealing the law which created it.<sup>40</sup>

James H. Birch of Clinton, an old-line Whig, spoke long and frequently. He was, however, a strong Union man and looked upon the seceding states as erring sisters who were really not out of the Union. He, perhaps, revealed his position best when he said that his son was studying for the university and he wanted him to graduate in the Madisonian school of "State Rights." He denied the right of secession but recognized the right of revolution under certain circumstances.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 124-129.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 41.

Uriel Wright of St. Louis, another old-line Whig, was well described as a "skillful performer on the organ of speech." His main effort occupied the greater part of two days, in which he reviewed civilization from the time of Greece and Rome, thoroughly discussed the origin, nature and structure of our government and covered its whole history. He identified the Union with the Constitution and believed in neither coercion nor secession. His speech had little depth of thought;<sup>42</sup> he was what Disraeli called Gladstone, "a sophisticated rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity."

E. K. Sayre of Lewis, an old-line Whig and slave owner, a native of New Jersey and a graduate of Amherst college, took the position that the Union should be preserved but that force should not be used. He went on to say that the people of the seceded states were patriots and had "shown their love for their country to be as sincere and devoted as the love of country ever shown by any other people."<sup>43</sup> He also strongly assailed the North and the abolitionists.

John T. Redd of Marion introduced a resolution that Missouri was opposed to the doctrine of coercion and that in the event of an invasion of the South for the carrying out of such a doctrine Missouri would take her stand by the side of her Southern brethren. He considered Lincoln's inaugural a declaration of war against the institution of the South and involved the same doctrines employed by George III when he declared war against the colonies.<sup>44</sup>

Prince L. Hudgins of Andrew, an old-line Whig, objected early in the session to taking the oath, prescribed by the convention for the members, on the ground that it would be taking the oath of a submissionist. Later, he declared that if he had any submission blood in him he would let it out of his veins. When the Union was dissolved, he was in favor of Missouri's going with the South.<sup>45</sup>

Samuel Breckenridge, an old-line Whig from St. Louis, took a very decided stand against secession but thought the

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 186-215.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 169.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 21, 48.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 8, 105.

North might concede something on the slavery question. He denied any limitation on the federal government in the execution of its laws.<sup>46</sup>

Isidor Bush of St. Louis, a Republican and a native of Austria, made the most clean cut, unconditional, union speech in the whole convention. In case of war he pledged himself and all the Germans to stand by the government and the Union.<sup>47</sup>

James H. Moss of Clay, an old-line Whig, offered a resolution to the effect that Missouri would not countenance a seceding state in making war on the government nor furnish men and money to aid the government in coercing the seceding states. The resolution was voted down. He, however, did not believe in the right of secession.<sup>48</sup>

Hamilton R. Gamble of St. Louis, a Whig-American, as chairman of the committee on federal relations, made a very able and dignified defense of the report. He wanted peace beyond all things else.<sup>49</sup>

William A. Hall of Randolph, a Democrat and a native of Maine, made a logical defense of the power of the government to execute its laws.<sup>50</sup>

James McFerran of Daviess, a native of Maryland, was the only one who stated, emphatically, that Missouri was a Western state. He also believed in her standing by the Union.<sup>51</sup>

John B. Henderson of Pike, a Douglas Democrat, did not believe in secession. He made a very strong plea for the Union and described vividly what Missouri would lose by secession and yet he did not believe that the president of the United States had the right to use force in executing the laws.<sup>52</sup>

James O. Broadhead of St. Louis, a former Whig who voted for Lincoln, emphatically affirmed the right of the

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<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 230-232.

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 61, 180.

<sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 178-180.

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 87-92.

government to execute its laws. He made the ablest presentation of the economic and geographic argument. The value of slave property was only one-ninth of that of the state, and it was engaged principally in raising hemp and tobacco. White labor must be depended upon to carry on her mining, manufacturing and commercial interests. Every able bodied newcomer was worth \$2,000 to the state. He further said, "All these States [Eastern] want a communication through this State, and Missouri is the pathway through which they must travel: and they will have that pathway just as certain as we will have an outlet to the ocean. And more than this, efforts have been made for the purpose of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean, by means of a railroad, in order that the wealth of the Indies may be poured into the lap of this country of ours. And Missouri stands in the pathway of nations: over her soil this pathway must run, just as inevitably as fate. And do you suppose that the accumulated interest of the East and the West, and I may say of the world, will ever submit to have an interdict placed upon that pathway. I say, then, gentlemen of the Convention, that Missouri cannot go out of the Union if she would: and I think I know what I say when I speak it, that she has not the power to go out of the Union if she would."<sup>53</sup>

When the convention met again on Monday, March 11, there was considerable excitement over an article in that morning's *Republican* entitled, "A Plot to Precipitate Missouri into Disunion Exposed." The gist of the alleged plot was that a group of secessionists considered the convention unsound and wanted to try to force secession. By a vote of 52-30 a committee was appointed to investigate the alleged plot. Two days later it reported that the conspiracy had fallen through and so the matter was dropped.<sup>54</sup>

This episode did not detain the convention long and as soon as the above committee was appointed, Redd introduced a minority report from the committee on federal relations, signed by himself and Hough. This report took strong southern ground and called for a convention of slave-holding

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 120-123.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 59-61, 103-105.

states to propose amendments to the federal constitution to be presented to the free states for ratification or rejection.<sup>55</sup>

The debate on these reports raged furiously for about ten days. The vital issues were 1 and 5 of the majority report. The first was passed by a vote of 89 to 1<sup>56</sup> and the fifth, by a vote of 89 to 6.<sup>57</sup> It had, however, been amended by the addition of the following: "That it is the opinion of this Convention, that our cherished desire to preserve our country from the ruins of civil war and its devastating influences, and the restoration of harmony and fraternal feeling between the different sections, would be greatly promoted by the withdrawal of the Federal troops from such forts within the border of the seceding States, when there is danger of a collision between the State and Federal troops, and we recommend that policy." This was called the Shackelford amendment, from its author Thomas Shackelford, and was passed, March 20, by a vote of 54 to 39.<sup>58</sup> Although 39 voted against the amendment to the fifth resolution only 6 voted against the resolution in its final form. As the resolution then stood it really meant that the convention believed that coercion or the use of force by either side would mean civil war and it was hoped that this could be avoided by the withdrawal of federal troops from the seceded states. The question whether or not the national government had the right to use force was not raised. But, from their speeches, we can assume that the six men voting against the resolution were the only ones in the convention, at that time, who believed in the right of the national government to use force. These men were James O. Broadhead, Isidor Bush, Henry Hitchcock, John How, Hudson Bridge and Charles Eitzen. The first five were from St. Louis and the sixth was from Gasconade. None were natives of Missouri. Two were born in Germany, one in New Hampshire, one in Pennsylvania, one in Virginia and one in Alabama. The two latter were lawyers; the other four were in business. At least four had

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<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 62, 64.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 237, 245.

voted for Lincoln. Ex-Governor Stewart, who had been absent the day the vote was taken, in a speech later distinctly claimed the right of the government to use force.<sup>59</sup>

The report of the committee, appointed to draft a reply to the speech of the commissioner from Georgia, came the next day, March 21. It disapproved of the constitutional right of secession and held that it would "be ruinous to the best interests of Missouri." The report at once met with strong opposition. It was first tabled, and next made the special order of business for the third Monday of December next.<sup>60</sup> A committee of seven was appointed to attend a contemplated border state convention. Another committee of seven was appointed to call the convention together, if necessary, before the third Monday in December to which the convention adjourned, March 22, 1861.<sup>61</sup>

TWENTY-FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY, CALLED SESSION,  
MAY 2-15, 1861

Events moved rapidly in April. Early in the month the secessionists elected Daniel Taylor, a Bell-Everett man as mayor of St. Louis. Taylor had served in this capacity before and was quite popular. He was not known to be in accord with the secessionists, yet he was unfriendly to the Republicans. John How, the candidate of the Unconditional Union party, was defeated by 2,658 votes. His supporters were over-confident. Taylor's vote cannot be taken as a true measure of the secession strength because he did not run on that issue.<sup>62</sup>

A few days after the election, Governor Jackson, acting under the provisions of the new police law, appointed a board of police commissioners for St. Louis, which then elected a chief of police. According to Snead a majority of this board were avowed secessionists.<sup>63</sup> The great stake for which sides

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 257.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 254-258.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 258-269.

<sup>62</sup>Peckham, James, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94; Snead, Thomas L., *op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>63</sup>Snead, Thomas L., *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137.

were now playing was the federal arsenal in St. Louis and its immense military stores.<sup>64</sup>

Captain Lyon was in command of the defenses of the arsenal and Major Hagner controlled the stores within the buildings.<sup>65</sup> As early as January 24, 1861, Brigadier-General David M. Frost, commander of the state militia of the first district, had written Governor Jackson that he had just visited Major William H. Bell, who was then in command at the arsenal, and had found him entirely satisfactory. Major Bell considered that Missouri had a right to claim the arsenal as being on her soil. When the proper time came, he agreed to surrender it to the duly accredited state authorities.<sup>66</sup>

President Lincoln issued his call for troops on April 15. On the same day Frost advised Jackson as follows: 1. Convene the general assembly at once. 2. Send an agent to the South to procure mortars and siege guns. 3. Prevent the garrisoning of the United States arsenal at Liberty. 4. Warn the people of Missouri that President Lincoln has acted illegally in calling out troops. 5. Authorize or command him (Frost) "to form a military camp of instruction at or near the City of St. Louis; to muster military companies into the service of the State; to erect batteries, and do all things necessary and proper to be done to maintain the peace, dignity, and sovereignty of the State." 6. Order Colonel Bowen to report with his command to him (Frost) for duty.<sup>67</sup>

On the seventeenth, Governor Jackson replied to President Lincoln as follows: ". . . Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary; in its objects inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade."<sup>68</sup> Thereupon, Blair telegraphed Washington that he would raise immediately four regiments for active duty and urged their acceptance and the appoint-

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<sup>64</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 147; Peckham, James, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

<sup>65</sup>Peckham, James, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 43-45, complete text of the letter which was not made public until 1864.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 147-149, complete text.

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 102, complete text.



ment of an officer to muster them into service. Barton Able went in person to Washington to further Blair's request.<sup>69</sup>

The federal arsenal at Liberty had been captured by the secessionists, April 20, and the Unionists in St. Louis feared that the weapons secured there would be used in an attempt to seize the arsenal at St. Louis.<sup>70</sup> In January, Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the United States Army, transferred Major Bell to the east and placed Major Peter V. Hagner in command of the St. Louis arsenal. Major Hagner assumed command January 24, but Major Bell resigned rather than go east.<sup>71</sup>

On January 31, Captain Nathaniel Lyon was ordered with his troops from Fort Scott, Kansas, to the arsenal at St. Louis.<sup>72</sup> He and Blair at once became fast friends and co-workers. They both distrusted Major Hagner and began to work for his removal. Blair failed to get this done until after Lincoln's inauguration.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, the secessionists were openly boasting that if they carried the state in the election for convention delegates, February 18, they would seize the arsenal and equip the state guard.<sup>74</sup>

On March 13, an order was sent from Washington assigning Captain Lyon to the command of the troops and defenses of the arsenal. Major Hagner published the order, March 19, but still retained the position as commanding officer of the arsenal.<sup>75</sup>

It must, moreover, be kept in mind that during all this time Brigadier-General William S. Harney was in command of the Department of the West with headquarters at St. Louis.<sup>76</sup> General Harney also hampered Blair and Lyon in raising the four regiments of volunteers which Governor Jackson had refused President Lincoln and which Blair had promised to raise.<sup>77</sup> Blair was busy working for General Harney's removal.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>71</sup>Snead, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

<sup>72</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>75</sup>Peckham, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>76</sup>Snead, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>77</sup>Peckham, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-111.

He appealed to Governor A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania and his brother Montgomery, to use their influence for this purpose.<sup>78</sup> General Harney was relieved of his command April 21 and ordered to report to Washington. This he did on the twenty-third. Captain Lyon at once assumed supreme command and immediately enrolled and equipped the four companies so long desired.<sup>79</sup>

On April 22, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation calling for a special session of the legislature to meet May 2 for the purpose of perfecting the organization and equipment of the state militia and of providing for the defense of the state.<sup>80</sup> He also ordered the state militia to assemble in their respective districts on May 3 to go into encampment for six days as provided by law.<sup>81</sup> In obedience to this order General Frost established Camp Jackson in the western part of St. Louis.<sup>82</sup> In his message to the legislature, the governor briefly reviewed the arguments of the state right doctrines, claimed a similarity of social, political and other interests with the slaveholding states, and closed by urging a more efficient militia law.<sup>83</sup>

While the legislature was wrangling over the governor's recommendations, the news came that Lyon had captured Camp Jackson. This event happened May 10. The Missouri State Guard bill, which had been stoutly opposed, was now passed in less than fifteen minutes.<sup>84</sup> The climax of abject terror, however, was reached late that night when the governor sent a message to each House stating that two regiments of Blair's troops were then on the way to the Capital.<sup>85</sup>

Under this double stimulus the following important bills were passed: 1. A major-general, to have entire command of the militia, was to be appointed by the governor, subject to confirmation by the Senate. 2. Authority was given the governor to put down the rebellion in St. Louis and expel the

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 113; Sneed, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

<sup>80</sup>*Missouri House Journal, Called Session, 21st General Assembly*, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup>Peckham, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>83</sup>*Missouri House Journal, op. cit.*, pp. 13-16.

<sup>84</sup>Switzler, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 315-316; Peckham, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167.

invaders from other states. 3. The governor was empowered at his discretion, to take possession, in the name of the state, of any or all of the railroads or telegraph lines within the state and to purchase foundries and other property and to perpetuate friendly relations with certain Indian tribes.<sup>86</sup>

The effect of these laws was to make the governor an autocratic ruler of the state and the major-general a military dictator. Many loyal citizens joined the state guard thus created with no feeling of disloyalty toward the Union. Some withdrew when the state guard was merged with the regular Confederate army but many, unable to extricate themselves from an unforeseen difficult situation, were dragged on into open rebellion.

#### THE CAMP JACKSON AFTERMATH

There is a very wide difference of opinion as to the effect of the capture of Camp Jackson. Some students of the subject hold that it was an outrage, a violation of the state rights of Missouri, and that it drove thousands into open secession. Others believe that its prompt and sudden execution nipped in the bud what might have been a very serious secession outbreak right in St. Louis and really saved Missouri for the Union from the military standpoint.

The incident probably did cause many to enroll in the state guard to protect, what they believed, was Missouri's constitutional rights. Even so staunch a Unionist as Switzler of the *Missouri Statesman* condemned it in very strong terms. Uriel Wright, from the steps of the Planter's House the night of the tenth, declared "if Unionism meant such atrocious deeds as had been that day witnessed, he was no longer a Union man."<sup>87</sup>

Back of this position there may have been some nativistic feeling. Unfortunately, a few bystanders were killed by the soldiers when a mob attacked the troops on the way back from the arsenal. The soldiers, however, did not return the fire until one of their number was mortally wounded. The

<sup>86</sup>*Missouri Laws, Called Session, 21st General Assembly, pp. 3-58.*

<sup>87</sup>Scharf, John, *History of St. Louis*, p. 1485.

troops were practically all Germans. The secessionists were fond of likening themselves to the minute men of 1776 and the Germans of St. Louis to hired Hessians in Tory pay. No doubt many, especially in the Ozarks, went into the state guard and then into the Confederate army because of antipathy to foreigners on the Union side.

General Harney had not yet returned from Washington when the affair happened but he arrived the next day and issued a conciliatory proclamation. On the fourteenth he followed this with a second, even more significant in its statements: "It is with regret that I feel it my duty to call your attention to the recent act of the General Assembly of Missouri, known as the Military bill, which is the result no doubt, of the temporary excitement that now pervades the public mind. This bill cannot be regarded in any other light than *an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other States*. Manifestly its most material provisions are in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States. *To this extent it is a nullity, and cannot and ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri.* . . . it is right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of General Frost, had the name of Davis and a principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard; . . . No government in the world would be entitled to respect, that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations." There were, however, many innocent men in the camp who were not aware of its treasonable character.<sup>88</sup>

Nevertheless, General Harney wanted peace and on the twenty-first signed with General Price, the famous Price-Harney agreement. Their common object was the restoration of "peace and good order to the people of the State in subordination to the laws of the General and the State Governments." Price agreed to direct the whole power of the state officers in maintaining order within the state. If this were done, Harney agreed to make no military movements which might otherwise create excitement and jealousies.<sup>89</sup> As the

<sup>88</sup>*La Grange National American*, May 18, 1861.

<sup>89</sup>Switzler, *History of Missouri*, pp. 358-359.

authorities at Washington did not approve this arrangement, Harney was soon relieved and Lyon put in his place. The agreement had also been a disappointment to many secessionists as it effectually tied their hands.<sup>90</sup>

Another very important interview was held June 11 between Lyon, Blair and Conant on one side and Price, Jackson and Snead on the other. Jackson came to St. Louis for this purpose under pledge of safe conduct. His proposition was to disband the state guard, break up its organization and make no attempt to carry out the militia bill, if the federal government would disarm the home guard and not station its troops in any new places. Lyon absolutely refused to do this and the conference broke up after six hours of fruitless discussion.

Jackson left for Jefferson City at once and ordered the railroad bridges to be burned behind him. The next day, he issued from the Capitol a proclamation calling for 50,000 men to repel invasion and protect the lives, liberty and property of the citizens of the state. He asserted that Missouri was still one of the United States and that the executive department of the state did not arrogate to itself the power to disturb that relation. That power, he continued, was in the convention which at the proper time would express the people's sovereign will. Meanwhile, the people should obey all constitutional requirements of the federal government but should also remember their first allegiance was due to their own state.<sup>91</sup>

The governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state and many members of the legislature now fled from the capital. Troops under General Lyon and Colonel Blair occupied it the fifteenth, and military operations began.

As the position of Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds has already been discussed, it will now be in order to consider the positions of Governor Jackson, Benjamin F. Massey, secretary of state, and Sterling Price, president of the state convention and later commander of the state guard. There seems no doubt that Governor Jackson had long believed in secession but when the critical time came he was irresolute and hesi-

<sup>90</sup>Reynolds MSS.

<sup>91</sup>Moore's *Rebellion Record*, Vol. I, pp. 363-364. Complete text.

tated. However, he probably would have taken action sooner if the state had been in a better condition of defense. On April 23, Jefferson Davis, in reply to the governor's request of the seventeenth, wrote that he approved the plan of attacking the arsenal and was sending guns and ammunition for that purpose.<sup>92</sup> On April 28, Jackson wrote to J. W. Tucker, editor of the *Bulletin*, that he had told Price to postpone calling the convention until the legislature could meet and arm the state. "I do not think Missouri should secede today or to-morrow, but I do not think it good policy that I should so disclose. I want a little time to arm the state . . . . Nothing should be said about the time or the manner in which Missouri should go out. That she ought to go, and will go at the proper time, I have no doubt. She ought to have gone out last winter, when she could have seized the public arms and public property and defended herself."<sup>93</sup> On the nineteenth of April, Jackson had written to David Walker, president of the Arkansas convention: "From the beginning, my own conviction has been that the interest, duty and honor of every slaveholding State demand their separation from the Northern or non-slaveholding States. . . . I have been, from the beginning *in favor of decided and prompt action on the part of the Southern States*; but the majority of the people of Missouri, up to the present time, have differed with me. What their future action may be, no man with certainty can predict or foretell; but my present impression is, judging from the indications hourly occurring, *that Missouri will be ready for secession in less than thirty days and will secede if Arkansas will only get out of the way and give her a free passage.*"<sup>94</sup>

Benjamin F. Massey, while secretary of state, kept up a regular and frequent correspondence with Dr. J. F. Snyder, a leading Democratic politician of the state. Both were ardent secessionists. On April 26, he wrote Snyder that

<sup>92</sup>Rebellion Records, S. I. Vol. I, p. 688.

<sup>93</sup>Rombauer, R. J., *The Union Cause in St. Louis in 1861*, pp. 213-214. See also Peckham, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-289.

<sup>94</sup>Missouri Statesman, Aug. 2, 1861. The Tucker and the Walker letters were not made public until the *Bulletin* office was raided by federal troops July 14, 1861.

secession was growing more popular every day. The important thing, he felt, was to hold it back until the people could be armed and had raised a "bully good crop." "The Missouri Republican as usual is doing all the harm it can . . . It is probable Price will call the Convention shortly. He says he knows they would pass an ordinance of secession in a day, and but for that it would be called forthwith, . . . In the meantime you and "Old Abe" had better do what you can to keep the secession fever raging. Old Abe is some in that line sure—"<sup>95</sup> On the twenty-ninth, he writes Snyder that people have no further use for the convention. He doubts whether it would pass a secession ordinance. He does not want it to convene. The legislature can propose the ordinance and the people would ratify it. "A united north is fast making a united south, as those who are not with us will have to keep their mouths shut." By May 31, he had become quite pessimistic. In his letter to Snyder he questions whether it is worth while for Missouri to try to fight her way into the southern confederacy. "The long and short of it is in my estimation that a very decided majority of the governing influences are in favor of Missouri remaining with the old U. S. The policy of the state for the last 10 years has completely transformed the character of Missouri, and anything of a political character as a state she has done since that time proves it. Anyone familiar with the Missouri of 10 years since, can have no doubt what in an emergency like the present would have been her course, and I hate almost everything that has been done in that time, not alone because each in itself was wrong, but also because its tendency was utterly and absolutely demoralizing . . . P. S. Get your house in order to live under Black Republicanism or emigrate—~~I~~ shall leave, it may however be a year yet."<sup>96</sup>

Sterling Price, the third man now under consideration, had been and still probably was, the most popular person in Missouri. He had won considerable fame as a general in the Mexican War. While governor of New Mexico in 1847 he

<sup>95</sup>*Massey Letters*, Library of the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. An extremely valuable body of source material. Dr. Snyder is still living at an advanced age in Virginia, Ill.

<sup>96</sup>*Ibid.*

had caused F. P. Blair, Jr., to be arrested. Blair seems never to have forgiven him, for, in 1857, when Price was governor of Missouri and Blair was a member of the legislature, he attacked Price in a very bitter speech. Previous to 1852, Price was a staunch supporter of Benton. In that year Benton entrusted his campaign more than ever to the Blairs. Price then deserted Benton. It is alleged that his feud with the Blairs was one cause of his taking the southern side in 1861.<sup>97</sup>

When Price became a Union candidate for the convention, the southern rights senators at Jefferson City were amazed. He was bank commissioner at the time. According to Reynolds, "The 'money power' now perfectly secure, was exercised against the southern rights party: the example of Governor Price, considered most sagacious in discovering the winning side in Missouri politics, was followed by others: both causes contributed most powerfully towards the overwhelming triumph of the 'conditional unionists' in the convention election."<sup>98</sup> It is evident that neither side knew just where to place Price. On March 4, 1861, the *Democrat*, a Republican paper, printed the following: "We will not be accused of having had any irrepressible liking for Sterling Price, but his fidelity to the Union, of which we are well advised, obliterates the past so far as we are concerned."

Toward the last of the first session of the convention, March 19, Price voted in favor of a resolution that if the North did not settle the slavery question in a satisfactory manner and that if the other border slave states should secede, Missouri would do likewise. That night, he told Thomas Shackelford that war was inevitable and that he was a military man, a Southerner and would fight on the side of the South.<sup>99</sup>

Reynolds claims, "General Price was driven by the blundering arrogance of Lyon into resistance to the United States Government."<sup>100</sup> And May 20, 1861, Allen P. Richardson wrote from Jefferson City to Broadhead, "I am convinced Sterling Price is a rebel, flattering his vanity by the appoint-

<sup>97</sup>Stevens, Walter B., *Missouri the Center State*, Vol. I, p. 196.

<sup>98</sup>Reynolds MSS., p. 12.

<sup>99</sup>Shackelford, Thomas, "Early Recollections of Missouri," *Missouri Historical Society, Coll.*, Vol. II, pp. 2-19, April, 1903.

<sup>100</sup>Reynolds MSS., p. 8.



ment as commander-in-chief of Missouri Militia has turned his Unionism bottom upward."<sup>101</sup>

Reynolds states that he urged Jackson, under the "rebellion act" to appoint Price commander-in-chief of the state forces to suppress the revolt begun by Lyon and Blair in St. Louis. This was soon after May 10. Jackson hesitated to make the appointment, and after it was made, Price hesitated to accept it. His reluctance was overcome only by the request of Robert Wilson, acting at Reynolds' suggestion.<sup>102</sup>

Whatever may have been his motives, Price went from command of the state troops into the Confederate service and was affectionately known by his men as "Pap" Price. There can also be no doubt that his going over to the Southern cause influenced many others to do likewise.

#### THE STATE CONVENTION, SECOND SESSION, JULY 22-31, 1861

On the sixth of July, 1861, a majority of the committee, appointed in March for the purpose of calling the convention if necessary, issued a summons for it to meet July 22. The first act of the convention was to declare the office of president vacant and then to elect Robert Wilson president and Aikeman Welch vice-president, both old-line Whigs. A committee of seven was then appointed to consider the present condition of public affairs in Missouri.<sup>103</sup>

This committee reported that the offices of governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state and all members of the general assembly be declared vacant and that the convention should fill the first three. The people should elect successors to the three on the first Monday in August, 1862. The supreme court was to be increased from three to seven members and the governor, to be selected by the convention, was to appoint the four additional members who were to serve until their successors were elected in August, 1862. And finally, the people at this time should vote whether or not

<sup>101</sup>*Broadhead Papers.*

<sup>102</sup>*Reynolds MSS.*

<sup>103</sup>*Proceedings, op. cit.*, July, 1861, pp. 4, 14.

the change in the judiciary should become a part of the constitution.<sup>104</sup>

Immediately after this report was read, it was ordered to be printed and made the special order of business for the next day. Hamilton R. Gamble was then added to the committee, as an eighth member.<sup>105</sup> Four days later, July 29, the committee gave an amended report which would change the elections from August, 1861, to November, 1861, and which added a section that would submit the whole action of the convention to the people. This move alarmed some of the unconditional Unionists.<sup>106</sup>

The main question thus raised by the report was the extent of the powers of the convention. The next question was whether the action of the convention, provided it took positive action, should be submitted to the people.

Dunn of Ray county and Woodson of Boone wanted the federal government to recognize the southern confederacy and to allow each state to make her choice of allegiance.

<sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>105</sup>*Journal, op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

Gamble was recognized as one of the leading men in the convention and his adhesion to the Union was considered essential. Samuel T. Glover, a prominent and ardent Unionist of St. Louis, wrote to Broadhead on July 28:

"Why did you recommit the report and lose so much time. I like the report very well as it is—don't want any election in November nor till August, 1862. You must be polite to Gamble, put him on the committee, give him praises—magnify him into importance and then like as not encounter his opposition. What a windfall it was that Judge Gamble came to the convention. It would have been utterly impossible to have got along without him. My friend push yr business through, much delay may ruin us." The next day, after reading the amended report, Glover wrote Broadhead in a different vein: "I am not disappointed merely but pained at the action of the convention. . . . In this way the relations of Missouri to the Union is to be balloted upon!! I thot these were the points we could not yield—I thot we intended to fight over these no matter what the people said. Is this not Gambler's work? The course now proposed is a virtual submission of the secession question to the people—should the vote be against us we are all ruined. How in the name of God could you consent to such miserable giving up of the constitution of the United States? Put it to a vote!! God damn it don't you know how to vote no—Are you obliged to take anything because you can't get ye own—I have no good opinion now of the action of ye body—it will probably do harm and not good.

Yrs truly

S. T. Glover

I feared when you got Gambler on that committee trouble would come—how afraid you all are of him."

The original of these letters is in the *Broadhead Papers* in the Library of the Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.

Uriel Wright could see little good in anything. The Union was lost; there was no constitution and no government. Abe Lincoln was a usurper and Frank Blair was an assassin. Lincoln and Jackson were traitors and he did not care if both were killed.<sup>107</sup>

Sample Orr did not like the administration; he thought both Lincoln and Jackson ought to be hung. Nevertheless, he believed firmly in the Union and in the power of the convention to do whatever it wanted to do.<sup>108</sup>

E. K. Sayre of Lewis believed the actions of the United States troops in Missouri were unconstitutional although he did not deny their right to be there. He was opposed to secession in all its phases. He held that an office was property and that the convention had no right to deprive a man of it.<sup>109</sup>

James H. Birch took the position that the action of the convention in annulling the various military laws of the last session of the legislature would cause many of Jackson's army to return home. Then the federal troops should also be withdrawn. He, however, recognized the right of the federal government to maintain troops in Missouri and he held that the governor's opposition to them was treason.<sup>110</sup>

Gamble believed strongly in the power of the convention to do all the things proposed. He was also firmly attached to the Union without conditions. He did not think their action needed to be referred to the people.<sup>111</sup>

Ex-Governor Robert M. Stewart of Buchanan took the position as in the first session that the convention was virtually the people collected in their sovereign capacity.<sup>112</sup>

The resolution to declare the first three state offices vacant was carried by a vote of 56 to 25. The offices of the members of the state legislature were vacated by a vote of 52 to 28. The first Monday in November, 1861, was set for the election of the above officers. The ordinance to submit

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 20, 38, 10, 34, 84.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 69-72.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 73-76.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 24, 46, 68.

the action of the convention to the people was adopted unanimously.<sup>113</sup>

Hamilton R. Gamble was then elected provisional governor by a vote of 68 to 0. Twenty-one were absent and 8 were excused from voting.<sup>114</sup> This vote attests the popularity of Gamble. The refusal of the eight to vote was not through objection to him but a protest against the assumption of power by the convention.

Willard P. Hall of Buchanan, a Democrat, was then elected lieutenant-governor by a vote of 63 to 0. Twelve were excused from voting. Mordecai Oliver of Springfield, an old-line Whig, who had been a Democrat for a few years, was elected secretary of state.<sup>115</sup>

After the voting was over, Howell requested permission to record his vote for Hall. Woodson and Long wanted to vote for all three.<sup>116</sup> The convention adjourned to meet December 20, 1861.

If the secessionists had entertained any lingering hope that the convention would pass an ordinance of secession, it was now dispelled forever. The convention had gone even further. It had denounced the doctrine of secession as unconstitutional. It had also removed practically the entire set of state officers and had taken, into its own hands, complete control of the government.

One of the last acts of the convention was to submit a general statement to the people of Missouri, reviewing the disloyal performances of the Jackson government, calling particular attention to the Walker and Tucker letters, and explaining and justifying the expulsion of that government and the creation of a new one.

On August 1, Gamble and Hall delivered their inaugural addresses in Jefferson City. On the third, Gamble issued a proclamation to the people of Missouri in which he stated that certain unjust practices of the militia would be stopped and further that any men now remaining in arms under

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<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 132.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

Jackson's proclamation of June 12 would be considered as enemies; if, however, they would come in and surrender they would be pardoned.<sup>117</sup>

THE STATE CONVENTION, THIRD SESSION, OCTOBER 10-19, 1861

On September 21, 1861, Governor Gamble issued a call for the state convention to meet in St. Louis October 10.<sup>118</sup> It met at the time designated. In his message to this body he stated that its main reasons for coming together were to adopt a more simple and efficient military law, to provide money for running the government, as the treasury was practically empty, and to consider whether or not the state elections, set for November, 1861, should be postponed.<sup>119</sup>

During the three preceding months, there had been considerable fighting both of a regular and of a guerilla nature; the general situation was bad. This was reflected in the fact that only about half of the members of the convention were in attendance.

The elections were postponed to the first Monday in August, 1862, by a vote of 49 to 1.<sup>120</sup> Full provision was made for the Missouri state Militia. All able-bodied, free, white, male inhabitants of the state between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years were liable to service in the militia.<sup>121</sup> A great number of state offices were abolished to save expense and bonds were authorized to meet necessary obligations.

One significant act was passed October 16. Every civil officer in the state was required to take an oath to support the constitution of the United States and of Missouri and not to take up arms against the government of the United States nor the provisional government of Missouri. The office of any person failing to do this should be declared vacant. This act had also an amnesty feature whereby any person taking the oath, within ten days after receiving notice of the passage

<sup>117</sup>*Moore's Rebellion Record, 1860-1861, Vol. II, pp. 458-459, 472-474, docs. 151, 156.*

<sup>118</sup>*Journal, Missouri State Convention, October, 1861, p. 3.*

<sup>119</sup>*Proceedings, op. cit., pp. 4-5.*

<sup>120</sup>*Journal, op. cit., p. 11.*

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid., pp. 17-21.*

of the same and within fifty days of its passage, should be exempt from arrest or punishment for having expoused the secession cause.<sup>122</sup>

The speeches in this session were few and comparatively short. The attitude of certain leaders, however, will be summarized. Judge Birch believed firmly in the power of the Union and was opposed to secession. Yet he was also a staunch defender of slavery, declaring, "if by any future possibility, assumption, or misadventure, the controversy shall degenerate on the part of that Government even in the direction of negro equality, or negro emancipation, or even negro insecurity, I will be amongst the first and the loudest to denounce, and contribute to overthrow it."<sup>123</sup> Uriel Wright was very bitter against limitations on freedom of speech and of the press, the suspension of the habeas corpus, and the declaration of martial law. His lamentation in his own words was, "the contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of Executive power."<sup>124</sup> Soon after, Wright went over to the side of another "Lost Cause." One of the ablest replies to Wright's speeches was given by Henry Hitchcock of St. Louis, the substance of which was, "no man can be loyal to the Constitution without being loyal to the Government which is formed under that Constitution."<sup>125</sup> This, he continued, did not require either admiration or approval of every act of every officer of that government. Aikeman Welch reviewed in an able and thorough manner the disloyal activities of Governor Jackson and the state legislature in 1861.<sup>126</sup> Philip Pipkin contended that the action of the convention in July, Governor Gamble's call for troops, and General Fremont's emancipation order had all tended to drive men into Price's army. He also introduced a resolution denouncing the use of force by the general government against

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<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 14-15. The four points mentioned were all in one ordinance entitled, "An ordinance providing for abolishing certain offices, reducing salaries and testing the loyalty of civil officers, and offering amnesty to certain persons on certain conditions."

<sup>123</sup>*Proceedings, op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21-31.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 60-62.

the seceded states.<sup>127</sup> Sample Orr again vigorously defended the government and attacked Wright quite heatedly.<sup>128</sup> Ex-Governor Stewart likewise defended the actions of the government and in so doing became involved in a bitter altercation with Prince L. Hudgins who savagely condemned those actions.<sup>129</sup> The convention adjourned sine die October 19.

#### THE JACKSON-REYNOLDS SECESSION GOVERNMENT

On August 5, 1861, the deposed Governor Jackson issued at New Madrid his so-called "Declaration of Independence of Missouri." After reviewing the compact theory of government and the alleged usurpations of the Lincoln administration, he quoted the act of May 10, 1861. "An act to authorize the Governor of the State of Missouri to suppress rebellion and repel invasion," and declared that by virtue of that authority the political connection existing between Missouri and the United States of America was totally dissolved and the state of Missouri as a sovereign, free and independent republic, had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce and perform all other acts which independent states may of right do.<sup>130</sup>

On September 26, 1861, Jackson, at Lexington, appointed E. C. Cabell and Thomas L. Snead, commissioners from Missouri to make a treaty with the Confederacy.<sup>131</sup> On the same day, he issued a proclamation convening the general assembly in extra session at Neosho, Newton county, October 21.

On the authority of Isaac N. Shambaugh, a representative from DeKalb who was present, there were 39 members of the House and 10 of the Senate in attendance. A quorum required 67 and 17 members respectively.<sup>132</sup> On October 28, this rump legislature passed an ordinance of secession and an act ratifying the constitution of the provisional government of the Confederate States of America.<sup>133</sup> Only Shambaugh

<sup>127</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>128</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 84-91.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 50-59.

<sup>130</sup>*Moore's Rebellion Record*, Vol. II, doc. 163.

<sup>131</sup>*Rebellion Records*, S. I. Vol. LIII, pp. 751f.

<sup>132</sup>*Missouri Republican*, Jan. 26, 1866.

<sup>133</sup>*Rebellion Records*, *op. cit.*, pp. 752-753.

in the House and Charles H. Hardin of Callaway in the Senate voted against the secession ordinance. The legislature then adjourned to meet at Cassville, Barry county, October 31, 1861.

On the very same day, Cabell and Snead for Missouri and R. M. T. Hunter for the Confederacy signed a convention between the two "powers" which formed an offensive and defensive alliance during the existence of the war or until Missouri was admitted into the Confederacy. This was done November 28, 1861.<sup>134</sup> The session at Cassville lasted from October 31 to November 7 and adjourned to meet at New Madrid the first Monday in March, 1862. This meeting was never held.

Beginning with the Cassville session and continuing throughout the war, Missouri maintained a full delegation of representatives and senators at the Confederate capital. Of course none of them was ever constitutionally elected or appointed. The former were often elected by Missouri soldiers in the field and the latter were appointed by the governor. After Jackson's death in Arkansas in 1862, Reynolds assumed his position, and so late as January, 1864, he appointed Uriel Wright as senator to succeed R. L. Y. Peyton, deceased. John B. Clark and R. L. Y. Peyton had been elected senators at Cassville.

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<sup>134</sup>*Rebellion Records, op. cit.*, pp. 751-758.

(To be continued.)



## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

The present in many parts of the State is removed from pioneer conditions by less than seventy-five years. Mrs. Alice Carey Risley's article on "Pioneer Days in West Plains and Howell County" makes one appreciate this fact. Here is an author who can remember the synchronous appearance of "store clothes" and "store tea," the arrival of the weekly mail, and the existence of the one-church town.

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"Americans always want to get rich quickly," is an expression of widespread currency. It appeared nearly a century ago in Dr. Engelmann's travels and may have gained acceptance before. It reminds one of another tradition, handed down in scores of textbooks, that the Spaniard always sought gold and silver. Neither American nor Spaniard is in the isolated class implied. The ambition ascribed to the Spaniard was shared by the other nationalities of that day, as is that of the American a rather common possession on earth today.

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Maple sugar in the time of Dr. Engelmann sold at 12½ cents a pound, cane sugar at 25 cents a pound. Maple sugar was not so sweet, said the pioneer. To-day, cane sugar has sunk from prince to pauper, maple sugar has risen from pauper to prince. Maple sugar tastes better, says the 20th century epicure. The pioneer's reasoning was of a kind with that of his descendant.

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The doctor in the '30s called the scourge of which he knew little, "the epidemic." His follower of the 20th century names another scourge "the influenza."

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Readers of the *Review* having new data, not heretofore presented in print, bearing on the authorship of the state seal of Missouri, are invited to mail it to The State Historical Society. From such contributions it may be possible to obtain additional light on this subject.

The French pioneer in Missouri loved beauty—flowers in the garden, colors in clothing, and music and song—these made life more enjoyable. The American pioneer in Missouri loved economic independence—broad acres, cleared land, herds and crops—these also made life more bearable. Are we of this generation to witness a blending of these two great cultures—esthetics and materialism?

If the State Highway Department succeeds in its effort to beautify Missouri's roads, the effect on the lives of our citizens may be as momentous as the roads themselves. It will introduce us to something of which we are very much in need—art. We cannot scatter art museums, symphony orchestras, and Greek temples over Missouri, but, if we are willing to pay the price, we can look on Nature's paintings and sculpture, listen to her music, and find peace and contentment in her groves. Such a triumph in real civilization, such a legacy to bequeath to our children, such a victory in adding to life's meaning and life's enjoyment would be most significant in our history. And what a commentary we would be writing and compliment we would be paying ourselves!

MORE IN REGARD TO BARTON AND BENTON

BY ROY V. MAGERS, PARKVILLE, MISSOURI

In the April number of the *Review* appears a communication from Mr. Henry P. Robbins in criticism of my article on "An Early Missouri Political Feud," that appeared in the January number. I should greatly appreciate it if you would grant me space for the following statement in reply.

Mr. Robbins begins with disapproval of my selections for quotation from Senator Barton's speech. As to that, I can only say that the limits and the purpose of my article forbade my making extensive quotations, so I tried to choose those passages that would best display the bitterness of Barton's attack. I am quite willing to concede that Mr. Robbins might have made better selections, so we may let that point pass.

Mr. Robbins then proceeds to a criticism of the accuracy of my statements. He admits that my article "shows con-

siderable study of the record of Barton," and I suppose that I should be grateful for this small meed of praise. But he immediately spoils it all by charging me with "a woeful lack of familiarity with the conditions under which Barton delivered the speech." I regard this charge as unwarranted, unfair and ungracious, and I can not permit it to pass unchallenged, even though it has to do with a point of very minor historical importance. I was quite familiar with the circumstances referred to, but did not consider it necessary to cite them in my article, assuming that they were fairly well known to anyone who had made a study of the life of Benton. Mr. Robbins seems to take my failure to mention them as an evidence of ignorance—a wholly unjustifiable conclusion.

Mr. Robbins also questions the propriety of my referring to Barton as a Whig in 1830. Strictly speaking, he is correct in this. Yet it is not unusual to apply the name Whig to any of those who were of the group opposed to Jackson after 1824 and who later became members of the Whig party when it was definitely organized.

But his more specific indictment of my accuracy rests upon his theory as to the identity of "the Percy" referred to in the passage quoted from Barton. I believe that the allusion was to Henry Clay, while Mr. Robbins insists that it was to Barton himself. His theory is ingenious and interesting, and might even be plausible, were it not for certain facts that seem to have escaped his notice.

The passage under discussion is as follows: Referring to Benton, Senator Barton said:

"He is no native of our Valley. He came to us uninvited; complained of having been driven by terror and persecution, desired our hospitality and auspices and a little room to lie down and repose. The Percy found him weak and distempered, politically, and nourished and medicined him—put on his own collar and inscription at large, with a special index finger pointing to the words 'Cousin to Percy's wife.' These gave him currency and consideration and introduced him to the great hunt. Without the help of this collar and inscription, it would have been as impossible to elevate him to his present rank as it would be to drag up from the depths of

the ditch, by a frail woolen thread, some ponderous and inert mass. Others thrust a finger under that collar and pulled, who have since had cause to regret it and have washed their hands of the whole affair."

In the first place, I can see no reason why the identification of "the Percy" with Henry Clay is not thoroughly consistent with the scene from *Henry IV* which Senator Barton had in mind, as well as with the political situation at the time, which inspired his utterance. Mr. Robbins cites no evidence to the contrary, so I shall not go further into that matter.

A reasonably careful study of the context of the passage in question reveals several features that strongly support my interpretation and discredit that of Mr. Robbins. It will not be necessary to mention all of them, as there is one which seems absolutely conclusive in itself and it will therefore be sufficient. I refer to the inscription that Senator Barton reads upon the imaginary collar about Benton's neck, and his comment upon it. It is well known that Benton, in his early years in Missouri, was an active partisan of Clay, and it is a legitimate inference that he owed much, at that rather uncertain period of his career, to the prestige of his great patron, whom he later deserted. Barton's sarcastic reference to this was very natural, under the circumstances. But note especially the words of the "inscription at large" on the collar—"Cousin to Percy's wife." The significant point is that Benton was actually the cousin of Clay's wife, and therefore the conclusion seems unescapable that "the Percy" here refers to Henry Clay. The inscription could be reconciled with Mr. Robbins' interpretation only on the assumption that Benton was also the cousin of Barton's wife, but it happens that Barton was never married. Barton's further words, about those who had "thrust a finger under that collar and pulled," evidently refer to his own part in bringing about the election of Benton to the Senate, an act which he later regretted.

I have no desire to engage in a controversy with Mr. Robbins over a matter of such minor importance as the point at issue. But I should like for the readers of the *Review* to know that I really had some ground for the opinions expressed in my article, and that the investigation on which they were

based, while not so searching as might have been desired, was not so altogether "casual" as Mr. Robbins seems to assume.

#### DONATION BY MAJOR E. E. TOWLES

The Society is the recipient of a valuable collection of books dealing with Missouri donated by Major E. E. Towles, formerly assistant chief engineer of the Missouri Public Service Commission of Missouri. Major Towles has served the State of Missouri in this capacity from 1914 to March 1, 1929, with the exception of one and one-half years spent in the army during the World war. He was born in Jefferson City, September 13, 1892, and was educated in the public schools of his native city and the University of Missouri. His father, Major Thomas Oliver Towles, had been a resident of Missouri since the Civil war and was closely allied with the social and political life of the state. Born at Columbia, Virginia, April 4, 1840, he studied law and later took up newspaper work. At the outbreak of the Civil war he enlisted in the Confederate forces, and served with distinction as a major of the Third Virginia Cavalry. In 1867 he moved to LaGrange, Missouri, engaged in the practice of law, and then founded the *LaGrange Democrat*, a paper which soon became influential throughout the State. He was a delegate to the Democratic convention which nominated John S. Phelps for governor of Missouri. He was assistant chief clerk of the Missouri House of Representatives in 1873-75, and moved to Jefferson City in 1874.

Major Towles, Sr., became assistant chief clerk of the national House of Representatives in 1875 and later in the same year was made chief clerk. He served in this capacity until 1895, with the exception of the period during the Fifty-first Congress. He resigned in 1895 to become secretary of the National Democratic Bimetallic Committee. He also served as secretary of the Democratic Congressional Committee in the campaign of 1890-92. In April, 1897, he was appointed deputy state superintendent of insurance by Governor Stephens and was reappointed to that position by Governor Folk. He was a member of the staff of Governor Stone and had perhaps the widest political acquaintance of

any man in Missouri at that time. Major Towles was deputy marshal of the Missouri Supreme Court at the time of his death, August 13, 1915. It was during his long years of public service that he built up a large and select library, part of which has been donated to this Society by his son.

The Society was permitted to select material of interest to Missouri from a collection of 925 books, 258 pamphlets and 11 maps. Much of this material is of unusual value to the Society's library. The remainder of the collection has been transferred to the library of the University of Missouri.

#### THE REYNOLDS FAMILY OF TRENTON

BY JOHN A. BRYAN, ST. LOUIS

In a country and an age where the majority of the people are constantly moving about, it is an unusual bit of news when we read of a woman having lived on the same homesite for eighty-two years. This fact was brought out when the Trenton papers recorded the death of Mrs. John Robert Schooling, on March 29, 1929. Mrs. Schooling was born in 1841 in that section of Northwest Missouri that later came to be a part of Grundy county. Her maiden name was Sarah Reynolds, and her parents, Captain Wesley Reynolds and Kiturah (Wardell) Reynolds, settled on a fork of Grand river in 1837, —their land being a grant from the United States government in payment for the services of Captain Reynolds' father, William Reynolds, in the War of 1812. The Reynolds family named the town that sprang up on the banks of Grand river "Trenton," in honor of the capital of their native State, New Jersey; and in 1847 Captain Reynolds built a four-room log house on the lot just one block from the present Grundy county courthouse which has been the home of his descendants down to the present day. In 1882 a two-story addition was built to the house, but the old log structure was incorporated in the rear of the house, and weather-boarded.

Mrs. Schooling's two younger brothers, Thomas Benton and Richard Wardell Reynolds, were for many years owners and editors of *The Chillicothe Constitution*, one of the oldest Democratic newspapers in North Missouri. They were the

intimate friends of Alexander M. Dockery and Charles H. Mansur, and through their paper wielded a considerable influence on the political fortunes of those two notable Democratic statesmen.

IN RE WILLIAM MULDROW

BY L. L. MCCOY, RED BLUFF, CALIFORNIA

I have just received *The Missouri Historical Review* for April and have read with much interest the chapter, "Palmyra and its Historical Environment," by Frank H. Sosey. I knew William Muldrow slightly personally. I was at La Grange college in 1871 and 1872 when he returned there from California. Muldrow had a daughter living there, Mrs. Thomas Richardson. Muldrow told a great story about his big land grant in California. He interested Dr. Cook, president of LaGrange college, and some of the trustees of the college in his scheme to get his grant confirmed by the government and said that he would richly endow said LaGrange college. Thomas Richardson was one of the trustees of the college. Muldrow so interested Dr. Cook that he made the trip to Washington with him to help press his claim and if possible secure the confirmation of his Mexican land grant. Nothing came of this claim. It is too long a story, but I could tell you something of this particular claim. I have given some attention to the title and history of some of those old Mexican land grants. At the close of the Mexican war many spurious claims to Mexican grants were set up and the government scanned closely and fought through the courts many claims. William Muldrow has a granddaughter living in this county.

On page 377 of the April issue is a reference to the author of several popular and old-time songs. One is about the pious old darkey who wanted to be buried in a hollow tree. I remember that old song.

"Wake Nicodemus"

"Nicodemus, the slave, was of African birth,  
And was bought for a bag-full of gold;  
He was reckoned as part of the salt of the earth,  
But he died years ago, very old.

" 'Twas his last sad request, so we laid him away  
In the trunk of an old hollow tree;  
'Wake me up,' was his charge 'At the first break of day,  
Wake me up for the great jubilee.'

Chorus

"The good time coming is almost here,  
'Twas a long, long time on the way;  
Now tell Elijah to hurry up Pomp,  
Meta set the gum tree down in the swamp;  
Wake Nicodemus to-day."

IN RE SAM HILDEBRAND

BY JOSEPH D. PERKINS, CARTHAGE, MISSOURI

I read with keen interest the article published in the April, 1929, number of the *Review* copied from the "Palmyra Spectator" in relation to Sam Hildebrand.

I was born and reared three miles northeast of Farmington. In 1877 on the day the body of Hildebrand was brought to Farmington, I was there and saw the body. A governor of Missouri had offered a reward for his capture, dead or alive, to be delivered to the sheriff of St. Francois county. Mr. Franklin Murphy was sheriff and refused to receive the body and refused to admit that the body was that of Sam Hildebrand. The officers from Illinois who brought the body there could not get any person to identify the body and some of Sam's old friends who were there and looked at the body publicly stated that it was not the body of Sam Hildebrand, but it was. The Illinois officers being unable to get the body identified went away leaving the body in the casket sitting on the ground in the court house yard and when the Illinois



officers had gone, Hildebrand's brother-in-law took the casket and body and buried it somewhere in the north part of the county in some cemetery and the officers never got the reward.

In 1876, I was deputy assessor of St. Francois county, and rode horseback from farm house to farm house. One day I came to the home of Uncle Johnnie Williams. He told me all about the battle in and around his house and showed me bullet holes in some of the logs. He said Sam could not walk on account of his leg being very sore from the bullet wound inflicted by the shot fired by Dr. Peterson.

Uncle Johnnie said he got up just after daylight and went to the barn to feed his stock. Sheriff Brackenridge and his posse were concealed in the barn and marched him in front of them to the front door of his house, but Sam heard them coming and barred the door. The posse threatened to kill Mr. Williams unless Sam opened the door and Sam heard them, so Sam opened the door and stuck his hands out with a revolver in each hand and began rapidly firing. One ball passed through the whiskers of the sheriff. Uncle Johnnie laughed and said that in less than a minute there was not a man in the yard, so he went in and barred the door again. The posse fired from ambush at the house all day. The news spread and lots of other men came during the day and joined the posse. One bullet went through a crack and wounded the granddaughter. Then he took his wife and granddaughter out the back door and went away to some neighbor's home and left Sam alone in the house.

He told me that Sam could not walk a step on his wounded leg, it was too sore; and that immediately after he shot and killed McLain, that night, he crawled out the front door and crawled across the yard to the little low rail fence between the yard and orchard, raised the fence up with one hand and crawled under it and let the fence down. He could not walk a step on his sore leg and could not carry his faithful old gun "Kill Devil", so he laid the gun on the ground by the fence and crawled away in the dark and made his escape. He crawled to a neighbor's house who took him to a cave in a bluff of Big River and Dr. Keith visited him there and dressed his wound and when he recovered from the wound Dr. Keith

took him to his own home where he remained in the second story while the Doctor and Jim Evans wrote the history of his life, which was published and I read the book.

"LINCOLN'S LAST OFFICIAL ACT"

BY JOHN W. STARR, JR., MILLERSBURG, PA.

For several years following the turn of the last century, an interesting story pertaining to the last day of Abraham Lincoln's life, and bearing the earmarks of authenticity, was current.

The first notice I have seen of it appeared in a volume entitled "Lincoln in Story," edited by Silas G. Pratt and published in 1901. Mr. Pratt stated in his preface that "no anecdote is given which has not been carefully verified." Two years later *Success Magazine* contained practically the same tale under the heading appearing above this article; and in 1906, an account substantially the same was included by Mr. Henry Llewellyn Williams in his little volume of "Lincolnicns."

According to the story, Allmon and George Vaughan, brothers, were residing in Canton, Mo., at the outbreak of the Civil war. The former entered the Union army and the latter the Confederate.

After the battle of Shiloh, George Vaughan secretly visited his home in Canton but was captured and sentenced to death as a spy. His brother appealed to Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri who brought the matter to the attention of Secretary Stanton, but the latter decided after investigation that the verdict should stand. Appealing to Lincoln, Henderson was successful in having both a second and third trial, but in each instance the findings were the same.

On the afternoon of April 14, 1865, Henderson called at the White House and said that as the war was practically over a pardon would be in the interest of peace and reconciliation, and to this Lincoln agreed. He told Henderson to see Stanton and tell him Vaughan should be released. But Henderson found Stanton obdurate, and that evening calling at the White House again Henderson found the President

dressed for the theatre. Upon hearing of Stanton's stand, Lincoln shook his head, and seating himself at his desk wrote an order for the unconditional release of Vaughan. Thus, according to the published accounts, it was "the last official act" of President Lincoln.

Senator Henderson's widow is still living in Washington, and I am reliably informed that she is one of the leading society patronesses of the capital city. In response to a query from the writer she states that she was not acquainted with Mr. Henderson at the time of the assassination, "but as Mr. Henderson afterward talked to me often of his frequent interviews with President Lincoln and did not mention the time of which you speak, I think the report could not have been true."

On the other hand, the daughter of George Vaughan is still living in Missouri, and from her daughter I have been able to gather the family traditions concerning the alleged incident.

"I have heard my grandmother tell this story a number of times," says the lady referred to, "and it is correct that Senator Henderson was the one who secured the pardon for my grandfather, George E. Vaughan. As she related it, President Lincoln was leaving for the theatre and took off his glove to sign the pardon for Senator Henderson,\* \* \* In our opinion, there is no doubt but what the story told by Senator Henderson is correct."

Fortunately for the truth of history, we are able to arrive at the truth of the narrative, interesting if true.

The adjutant general's office of the war department has furnished the writer with the records as disclosed by their files from which the following pertinent excerpts are taken:

"The records of my office show that one George S. E. Vaughan, a citizen, was captured October 17, 1863, by the Federal forces as a Confederate spy, and that he was sentenced to confinement for life (he was not sentenced to be shot). His sentence was mitigated to confinement during the war, and he was released on taking the oath of amnesty, April 19, 1865. The records also show that on March 18, 1865, application was made by Senator J. B. Henderson for the release of certain persons from confinement, among whom

was George S. E. Vaughan, and this application was endorsed as follows:

"Let these men take the oath of Dec. 8, 1863, and be discharged.

March 18, 1865.

A. LINCOLN."

It seems too bad that a heart-story appealing to the imagination such as this does, should be discarded, but in view of the evidence in the War Department there is no other alternative. Lincoln's endorsement was written almost a month before the assassination and in connection with the application of several others, although the hiatus of a month intervening between that time and the release is not easy to account for.

Some years ago the writer prepared a small volume on "Lincoln's Last Day" and it was in connection with making a further investigation that the above facts were brought to light.

#### ANNIVERSARIES AND MEMORIALS

Calvary Cemetery, which is celebrating its seventy-fifth anniversary this month by beginning the construction of a new \$45,000 gateway, is an historic tract of land, and contains one of the most famous old mansions left intact in the vicinity of St. Louis.

"Clay Mansion," built some time prior to 1849 by Henry Clay for his son, James B. Clay, still stands on its broad acres overlooking the Mississippi river, with Calvary Cemetery creeping closer and closer as time passes. Eventually its site will become part of the cemetery, and the old house, which was the finest residence in the country when it was built some eighty-odd years ago, will go the way of all old landmarks. . . . .

Henry Clay was apparently never satisfied with his investment in the tract of land. . . . . In 1835 there are records in the Missouri Historical Society archives of him writing to Col. John O'Fallon concerning the title to the land. In 1847 he made a trip to St. Louis from his home in Kentucky personally to undertake the sale of the land. He was unsuccessful. . . . Clay Mansion was built on the west

part of the tract some time after Clay's visit, although the exact date is not apparent. At any rate, his son, James B. Clay, brought his bride from Louisville in 1851 to live there . . . . . The Clays left St. Louis, and about a year later, in 1853, Archbishop Kenrick bought the mansion with 325 acres from Henry Clay. Since that time the property has belonged to the archdiocese of St. Louis. . . . . St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, April 7, 1929.

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A drinking fountain depicting "The Colonial Mother" is to be placed in Forest Park in St. Louis by the Missouri Society of the Daughters of American Colonists. The statue, which cost \$5,000, is the work of Mrs. Nancy Coonsman Hahn. —St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, April 20, 1929.

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Oil paintings of two Missouri judges were presented to the State Supreme Court April 29. These are of Judges William C. Marshall and Richard L. Goode, both of whom served on the Supreme Court bench in this state.—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, April 30, 1929.

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The *Liberty Tribune* has finished its eighty-third year. It was founded April 4, 1846.—Kansas City *Times*, April 9, 1929.

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On Sunday, February 15, 1929, the United Spanish American War Veterans, the auxiliary and other patriotic organizations participated in a public ceremony in St. Louis commemorating the sinking of the "Maine." The ceremony took place on the Free Bridge, from which flowers were tossed into the river.

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The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of May 9, 1929, contains a picture of a huge boulder bearing a tablet which had just been unveiled. It is located at Seventh and Howard streets

near the site of the great Indian mound which was leveled about 1870 to make way for city improvements.

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The centennial of Mermod, Jaccard & King Jewelry Company, of St. Louis, was observed April 1, 1929. The firm was founded by Louis Jaccard, when he emigrated from Switzerland, and at first was housed in a little shop on the west side of Main street between Pine and Chestnut. A brief history of the firm is given in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of March 24, 1929, and the *Post-Dispatch* of March 31, 1929.

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"Dockery Day" which was inaugurated in the Gallatin public schools in 1920 at the suggestion of Mrs. Della Maffit, a primary teacher there, was celebrated February 11, commemorating the eighty-second birthday anniversary of the late Alexander M. Dockery, former governor of Missouri. On such occasion, each room in the Gallatin schools has a program, including a picture show. In his will Mr. Dockery made a provision for this entertainment to extend for twenty years. But when it was discovered his fortune had been greatly impaired through a bank failure, two of his friends, whose names are kept secret, deposit funds each year to cover expenses of the entertainment to carry out his wishes.—*Kansas City Star*, February 24, 1929.

#### NOTES

A Missourian, George Riley Hall, wrote the state poem of Oklahoma. The Oklahoma state flower is the mistletoe and it is around this theme that Mr. Hall has woven the beautiful lines that have become classics for loyal Oklahomans. "Land of the Mistletoe" has been set to music and has received nationwide acclamation through an Oklahoma male quartet who broadcast it as part of a state radio program. Mr. Hall, the author of the song poem, was born at Rolla, and reared in Lawrence county near Sarcoxie.—*The Missouri Magazine*, Jefferson City, March 1929.

Captain Gatewood S. Lincoln, born in Liberty, Missouri, has been recently appointed Governor of Samoa, according to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of April 6, 1929. He is the son of the late Judge James E. Lincoln who was a member of the state legislature and probate judge of Clay county. Captain Lincoln has served in the United States Navy for many years, having been appointed to Annapolis in 1891.

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Anecdotes concerning former President Coolidge in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of March 31, 1929, include the story of his chat with a Missourian: "He was walking one evening with the late Senator Spencer of Missouri. As their steps led them back to the White House, Senator Spencer pointed to the mansion and jokingly asked, 'I wonder who lives there?'"

" 'Nobody,' replied the then President. 'They just come and go.' " . . . . .

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Doctoral dissertations in preparation in December, 1928, at American universities which concern matters of interest to Missouri were:

"Studies in the Life of Carl Schurz," by C. V. Easum, of Wisconsin.

"The Missouri Synod in its Relation to other Lutheran Groups in the United States," by Carl Mauelshagen, of Minnesota.

"The History of the Punishment and Treatment of Criminals in Missouri," by A. F. Kuhlman, of Chicago.

"Missouri Politics on the Eve of the Civil War," by W. H. Ryle, of Wisconsin.

"The Santa Fe Trail," by J. M. Klotsche, of Wisconsin.

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The fifth annual meeting of the American Society of Church History was held in Webster Groves, at the Eden Theological Seminary, beginning March 29, 1929. A paper on "The Religious Plight of the German Pioneers in Missouri" was read by Carl E. Schneider of Eden Seminary. Other papers read dealt with religious subjects in other states.

The Society has appointed a Western Research Committee, of which Professor W. W. Sweet of Chicago University is the chairman, and instructed it to take an inventory of materials bearing upon the religious history of the western states. A state committee consisting of Professors W. G. Polack and R. W. Hintze of Concordia Seminary, J. Johnson of Xenia Seminary, Rev. J. H. Horstmann and Professor C. E. Schneider of Eden Seminary, is developing this project in the state of Missouri.

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A judgment of the Saline County Court holding that a tract of land cut off from Saline county by a change of the Missouri river's channel is still a part of that county was reversed in the Supreme Court in banc today. The decision was written by Chief Justice White, with all the judges concurring except Judge Frank, not sitting.

The effect of the ruling is that the land known as "Saline Point" cut off from the main body of Saline county fifty years ago, becomes legally a part of Chariton county. That county has been treating it as such for half a century. The case got into court through a deed being issued by Saline county to accreted land on the cut-off territory.

Judge White holds that the middle of the main channel of the Missouri is the boundary line between the two counties and that Saline county was estopped from any claim to the territory by the fact that Chariton county has administered over it since it was cut off by the change in the course of the river, fifty years ago. The title lies in Chariton county, and the Circuit Court of Saline county was without jurisdiction to try the case.

Chariton county took possession of the territory after it was cut off from Saline county, surveyed the accreted land, laid out roads, school districts, levied and collected taxes and treated it as a part of the county.—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, February 12, 1929.

(Editor's Note: The *Review* of January, 1928, contains an earlier article on this controversy.)



Governmental appropriation for waterways is by no means a new thing. In 1838 the Missouri legislature voted money to ascertain the navigability of Grand River north of Brunswick. A commission was appointed and a report returned that the river could be navigated to the town of Bedford. Several small steamers actually went as far as Utica and Bedford. Most of the trips were made in high water. The project later was abandoned as impractical. At that time the channel of the Missouri river ran through what is now the present townsite of Brunswick. Now it is more than two miles distant. In the year 1849 there were 534 steamboat arrivals and departures at the port of Brunswick.—Kansas City *Star*, March 24, 1929.

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A reproduction of "The Jolly Flat Boat Men," a painting by George C. Bingham, Missouri artist, appears in the 1928 Year Book of the Society of Indiana Pioneers. The Year Book says, "This picture is the first well known work of George Caleb Bingham. It was printed from the original painting and distributed by the American Art Union in 1846 to its members. The print is as early as 1845. The Art Union was incorporated by the legislature of New York for the promotion of the fine arts in the United States, the encouragement of native artists, and the diffusion of a knowledge of American art throughout the country. The picture was thus widely known at that time. These prints are rare."

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The work of Col. Francis M. Curlee, St. Louis attorney and descendant of Daniel Boone's brother, in restoring the Boone homestead in St. Charles county during the last three years, is described in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* Sunday magazine of April 14, 1929. A very full description of the home and its surroundings is given.

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A movement has been started by the St. Louis Art League to make the old St. Louis Courthouse an art center, and to preserve in it the historic paintings of St. Louis as well as the work of Missouri artists.—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* March 31, 1929.

The St. Charles Post No. 312 of the American Legion sent a gavel made from wood which was a part of the house of Alexander McNair, first governor of Missouri, in St. Charles, to Governor Caulfield. It was requested that the gavel become a permanent fixture of the chief executive's office. A picture of this and another similar gavel appears in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* rotogravure section of March 24, 1929.

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The death of Norval L. Brady on April 12 at his home near Hannibal marked the passing of the last of Mark Twain's playmates, according to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of April 13, 1929. The humorist gave him the name "Gull" and was a close friend throughout life.

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Mrs. Elizabeth N. Shelby, widow of General Jo O. Shelby, famous Missouri Confederate, died in Bovina, Texas, March 1, 1929. Burial was in the Forest Hill Cemetery in Kansas City, Missouri.—Kansas City *Journal-Post*, March 6, 1929.

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Robert H. McClanahan has served as reading clerk or assistant reading clerk in every Missouri legislature except two from 1879 to date. An account of his life and his services appears in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* magazine of March 10, 1929.

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"The Osage Tribe; Two Versions of the Child-Naming Rite," by Francis LaFlesche constitutes the major portion of the *43rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1925-26* which was published recently by the Government Printing Office. Mr. LaFlesche is one of the best known authorities on the customs and history of the Osage Indians who are so closely connected with the history of Missouri and Oklahoma.

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"Captain Nathan Boone's Journal" is the title of an article in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* of March, 1929. It deals

with the expedition conducted by Captain Boone in Oklahoma and Kansas in 1843. He and his command, the First Regiment of United States Dragoons, saw much active service in the Indian country.

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"Calamity Jane," a pioneer Missouri woman whose exploits rank with those of "Wild Bill" Hickok, is the subject of an article in the *Kansas City Times* of March 23, 1929.

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Beginning in the November, 1928, issue of the *Valley Trust Magazine*, published in St. Louis, is a series of articles concerning the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in St. Louis in 1904.

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A resume of the origin and history of the Missouri National Guard, which was established in 1812 and is now known as the 128th Field Artillery, is given in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of March 12, 1929.

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An article in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat Magazine* of March 31, 1929 by Julia C. Underwood, recounts the history of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, now at 7200 Delmar Boulevard, which was founded 111 years ago.

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The *Independence Examiner* of April 12, 1929, contains an article by James A. Southern which tells of the organization of the Anti-Cigarette League of Independence, a body which was the first of its kind, and has since spread to seven or eight states other than Missouri.

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One of a series of genealogical articles concerning members of the D. A. R. Chapter at Independence appears in the *Independence Examiner* each Friday.

"The Test of Missourians," by James E. Payne, of Dallas, Texas, appears in the *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville) of February and March, 1929. It concerns the administration of General Earl Van Dorn as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department in 1862, and recounts Price's retreat from Springfield, as well as other notable events in Missouri during the ensuing campaign.

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The life of Carl Schurz is the subject of a lengthy article in the *Kansas City Times* of March 7, 1929.

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"The Surrender of Rastatt" by Carl Schurz appears in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March, 1929. The document was written by Schurz at the age of twenty, and concerns the German Revolution of 1848-49. It was printed in the *Neue Bonner Zeitung*, and was discovered there by the editor, Joseph Schafer, last year, and is here reproduced in translation for the first time.

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"The History of Springfield," a series of brief historical sketches accompanied by illustrative pictures, was started in the *Springfield Leader* of February 28, 1929.

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Prof. Grace Raymond Hebard of the University of Wyoming, after research on the life and work of James Bridger, defends his name and reports many new facts in connection with the Bridger stories. Excerpts from this article in the *Portland Oregonian* were copied in the *Kansas City Star* of March 3, 1929.

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The *Palmyra Spectator*, which was founded in 1839 by Jacob Sosey and has been operated continuously since that time by members of the same family, is the subject of an article in the *Sunday Magazine* of the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of March 3, 1929.

Reminiscence of Col. Clarence Buell, late of Louisiana, Missouri, appeared in an article by Louis LaCoss in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* magazine of March 10. The issue of April 26 recounts his death which occurred April 24. Col. Buell was an intimate friend and comrade of Buffalo Bill. His age was unknown, but he had lived in Louisiana for thirty-three years. He served as deputy United States marshal for several years.

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The romantic career of General Jo O. Shelby, famous leader of an expedition to Mexico, is recounted in the Kansas *City Star* of March 18, 1929.

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An article by Mrs. Mary Miller Smiser in the Warrensburg *Standard-Herald* of April 19, 1929, defends the tradition that George Frederick Burckhardt, of Howard county, designed the original State Seal of Missouri. Its authorship has long been a moot question. Mrs. Smiser, who is a descendant of Mr. Burckhardt, says. . . . "Thus far in our research, which covers more than a year's time, we have not learned of anyone other than Burckhardt for whom claim has been made for the authorship of the law which gave Missouri her State Seal. Is it not strangely convincing that this tradition should live for more than a hundred years and still be repeated by people now living in various parts of the state, none of whom knew that others had been solicited for information on the subject?" . . . . . Several descendants of Mr. Burckhardt have contributed to the traditional evidence. In addition Mrs. Smiser consulted Dean Walter Williams, of Columbia, who had previously given credit to Mr. Burckhardt for this work, and Miss Octavia Lesseuer, of Los Angeles, who assisted her father when he was secretary of state in the statute revision of 1889, a time when a correction was made in the wording of the law, as well as other writers and historians.

Mr. Walter C. Knous, of the Springfield Security Company, 86 years of age, writes Mrs. Smiser: "Yes, beyond all doubt, Burckhardt was the designer of the Missouri State Seal. He was asked by the 'Select Committee' of the legisla-

ture to originate a design for the seal. I remember well hearing him tell my father all about it . . . . In that conversation . . . . Uncle George . . . . positively told my father . . . . that he was the designer of the State Seal."

Mrs. Smiser quotes the opinion of Mr. Perry S. Rader, of Jefferson City, who has devoted much research to this subject and has written articles appearing in the last two issues of the *Review* about the State Seal. Mr. Rader says that the letter of Mr. Knous "is another persuasive argument for the claim that George Frederick Burckhardt was the designer of the Great Seal." He states further that he believes someone not a member of the legislature designed the Seal. Mr. Burckhardt was not a member.

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HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF ST. LOUIS IN ITS VARIOUS  
STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT FROM A. D. 1673 TO A. D. 1928.

By Rev. John Rothensteiner . . . 2 volumes. St. Louis Mo. (Blackwell Wielandy Co.) 1928.

Although this comprehensive work deals primarily with the introduction, growth, and development of the Roman Catholic Church in what is now Missouri, it is a mine of facts bearing on the general history of the State. As the history of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the book is very properly written from the religious viewpoint, but it is none the less a significant contribution to the history of Missouri.

The ecclesiastical division now known as the Archdiocese of St. Louis at one time included within its limits the entire Mississippi valley, the central region of which comprised the future diocese and archdiocese of St. Louis in the present State of Missouri. In point of time and of territorial extension, therefore, the narrative includes much more than the present Archdiocese.

The history of this vast region is inextricably bound up with the early history of the Roman Church in the United States. The discoverers and colonizers of the territory from the Great Lakes to the Gulf were Spanish and French Catholics. The first settlement of white men in what is now Mis-

souri was made on the River des Peres, where the Jesuit Fathers Marest and Pinet established themselves with bands of the Kaskaskia and Tamarois Indians in 1700. They were soon joined by French traders. What is almost certainly the first church in the State was the chapel built by these fathers in the same year at this Indian mission. The first church in St. Louis was the primitive log structure erected by Father Meurin in 1770. The first schools were those set up by these early missionaries for their converts. The first hospital west of the Mississippi was established in St. Louis by the Sisters of Charity. All had their inception with the exploration of the Mississippi—the first step in converting the savage wilderness to civilization.

The explorers of the Mississippi itself were the Jesuit Father Marquette and the French soldier, Joliet. And "it is an incontestible fact that the beautiful forest-clad embankment of the river whereon the great spiritual as well as civic metropolis of the Mississippi Valley was to arise. . . had been beheld by no white man's eye before that memorable day at the end of June, 1673, when Joliet and Marquette . . . swept by in two fragile barks. . . on their voyage of exploration to the unknown lands of the South." Father Rothensteiner's account is a faithful chronicle of events from this heroic enterprise to the most recent dedication of the humblest parish church in the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

The history of the Archdiocese falls naturally into three parts. Part one embraces the "Era of Preparation"—certainly the most romantic period—from the earliest exploration and missionary ventures in 1673, until 1826, when the Diocese of St. Louis came into being through the division of the "almost boundless Diocese of Louisiana." The second part deals with the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishops Rosati and Kenrick from 1827 to 1847. The latter year brought the erection of St. Louis into an archiepiscopal see, and the remaining third part of the work covers its history under Archbishops Kenrick and Kain and the present Archbishop, the Most Reverend John J. Glennon. The growth of the Church in the various sections of the State, the introduction and development of the numerous communities and con-

gregations of religious, and the many educational and charitable institutions fostered by them are set forth in minute detail.

The book is exceptionally well documented. Besides a large amount of published source material, such as the *Jesuit Relations* and similar documents, the author had access to a wealth of manuscript sources in the archives of the Church in the United States and Canada, as well as to those in France and at Rome. These archives throw new light upon numbers of obscure points in the history of both Missouri and the surrounding states of the Mississippi Valley. A bibliography of these sources is appended to Volume II. Scarcely a single book of any importance in the history of the West and Northwest has been left unconsulted by the author. The result is a work which no student of Missouri history can afford to overlook.

#### PERSONALS

**HARRY E. AGEE:** Born in LaMonte, Missouri, February 18, 1879; died in LaMonte, Missouri, February 20, 1929. He received his education in the public schools of his native city. In 1901 he began work on the Sedalia *Sentinel*, and later worked on the *Daily Capital*. In 1903 he returned to LaMonte and purchased the *Record*, serving continuously as its editor and owner until the time of his death. He was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**JAMES HANNAH AUSTIN:** Born in Schenectady, New York, October 29, 1844; died in Kansas City, Missouri, February 24, 1929. He received his education in Union College, at Schenectady, and was admitted to the bar in Chicago in 1869. He began the practice of law in Junction City, Kansas, and served as district judge there for ten years before coming to Kansas City in 1884. From this date he engaged in practice with his brother, the late Arch Austin, for more than thirty years. He was elected judge of the Jackson county circuit court in 1920 and served until 1926. He was a former member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**JAMES MOORES BALL:** Born in West Union, Iowa, in 1863; died in St. Louis, Missouri, March 1, 1929. He received



his medical degree from the University of Iowa in 1884 and then took several post graduate courses in New York and Europe. He engaged in the general practice of medicine until 1890. About this time he became professor of diseases of the eye at the National University, in St. Louis. For a time he was editor of the *Annals of Ophthalmology*, and then served as professor of diseases of the eye at the St. Louis College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was the author of *Andreas Vesalius, Reformer of Anatomy*, *The Sack-'Em-Up-Men*, and *Ball's Modern Ophthalmology*. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

WELLS HOWARD BLODGETT: Born in Downer's Grove, Illinois, January 29, 1839; died in St. Louis, Missouri, May 8, 1929. He was educated at Illinois Institute, now Wheaton College, at Wheaton, Illinois. Following his graduation he read law under his elder brother, Henry W. Blodgett, and was admitted to the bar in 1861. He enlisted in the Thirty-Seventh Illinois Volunteer Infantry at the outbreak of the Civil war. President Lincoln soon commissioned him Judge-Advocate of the Army of the Frontier, with the rank of major. In September, 1864, he became lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-Eighth Missouri Volunteer Infantry, taking full command of the regiment within two months. The Congressional Medal of Honor was conferred upon him "for most distinguished gallantry at Newtonia, Mo., Sept. 30, 1862." After the war he moved to Warrensburg, Missouri, and one year later was elected representative from Johnson county. He also served as state senator for four years, then moved to St. Louis to accept a position on the legal staff of the St. Louis, Kansas City & Northern railroad. After this company was consolidated with the Wabash he became head of the department. He continued in this service until 1915 at which time he retired. He was formerly a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

LILBOURN LOVICK COLLETT: Born in New Market, Platte county, Missouri, April 1, 1868; died in Fulton, Missouri, January 7, 1929. He had resided in Fulton since 1879, having been engaged in the book store business. At one time he served as treasurer of Callaway county, and had been

treasurer of the Callaway county chapter of the Red Cross since its organization.

**PAUL A. GAYER:** Born in St. Louis, Missouri, July 31, 1868; died in St. Louis, Missouri, March 16, 1929. He was educated in the parochial schools in his native city and in Teachers' College Seminary, Addison, Illinois. He taught school for two years after his graduation. Then he studied law in Benton College of Law, St. Louis, being graduated from this institution and admitted to the bar in 1917. He was appointed assistant city counselor of St. Louis in 1920, and served for four and one-half years. He was elected judge of the St. Louis Court of Criminal Correction in 1924, and re-elected in 1928.

**EDWARD HIGBEE:** Born in Ashland, Ohio, January 1, 1847; died in Kirksville, Missouri, February 16, 1929. He was reared on a farm in Johnson county, Iowa. At the age of 16 he became a teacher, but later entered the University of Iowa and studied law. Admitted to the bar in Lancaster, Missouri, he took up the practice of law there. In 1895 he was elected representative from Schuyler county. He moved to Kirksville in 1906 and ten years later was elected grand master of the Masonic lodge of Missouri. In 1920 he was elected to the State Supreme Court, to fill the unexpired term of Judge Charles B. Faris. Mr. Higbee was appointed Commissioner of the Supreme Court in 1923, and in 1927 was reappointed for a term ending in 1931.

**WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON HOWE:** Born in 1846; died in Lawrence Park, Bronxville, New York, March 15, 1929. At an early age he was employed by a St. Louis clothing manufacturer. He was interested in painting, and his work attracted the notice of influential citizens who provided him with funds for study in Paris. He studied under Otto de Thoren and Vuillefroy, and in 1886 won honorable mention in the Paris Salon, and almost annually thereafter won some award of international distinction. The cross of the Legion of Honor was conferred upon him in 1898. He served on the jury of the World's Fair in 1904. Many of his paintings are to be found in collections in St. Louis as well as in other parts of this country, England, France, Italy, and Germany.

CLEMENT G. JONES: Born in Iroquois county, Illinois, January 20, 1867; died near Longwood, Pettis county, Missouri, April 4, 1929. His parents came to Missouri when he was one year old, and settled near Sedalia. He was educated in the public schools of Pettis county. He was vice-president of the Bank of Longwood, president of the Producers' Produce Company of Sedalia, and representative from Pettis county in the Fifty-Third and Fifty-Fourth general assemblies.

KENT KOERNER: Born in Belleville, Illinois, December 23, 1875; died in Los Angeles, California, February 8, 1929. After being graduated from Smith Academy, in St. Louis, he entered the law school of Washington University. Following his admission to the bar in 1899 he became a member of the firm of Holmes, Blair & Koerner. In 1912 he was elected judge of the eighth judicial circuit for a term of six years. In 1918 he retired from the bench and formed the firm of Koerner, Fahey & Young. He was a veteran of the Spanish-American war, having served in the Fourth Illinois Volunteers.

SAMUEL M. PICKLER: Born in Washington county, Indiana, in November, 1846; died in Kirksville, Missouri, March 12, 1929. He came to Iowa with his parents at the age of six. He moved to Kirksville in 1866, and entered the normal school when it was founded the following year. Upon his graduation in 1871 he remained with the school as a teacher of mathematics. In 1873 he became owner of the *Kirksville Journal*, and continued as its editor until 1881. In succession he became a merchant, lumber contractor, and land owner. In recent years he conducted a loan business. He was mayor of Kirksville in 1882-83, served a term as school commissioner of Adair county, and four terms in the Missouri General Assembly. These were the 29th, 39th, 40th, and 46th sessions. In 1900 he was the Republican nominee for Congress. For six years he was a member of the Board of Regents of the State Teachers College, at Kirksville. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

HERBERT F. STEINBECK: Born in Pacific, Missouri, May 21, 1898; died in Union, Missouri, April 3, 1929. He moved to Union, Missouri, with his parents in 1902 and attended the public schools of that city. He subsequently attended Wash-

ington University, in St. Louis, and at the outbreak of the World war enlisted in the navy. He served as secretary-treasurer of the Franklin Publishing Company, publisher of the *Republican-Tribune*, which had been organized in 1918 by his father, his brother and himself. He had been editor of this paper for several years before his death, and had served in an official capacity in the press associations of the state. He was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

FRANCIS E. TAYLOR: Born in London, Ontario, September 28, 1856; died in Rolla, Missouri, March 5, 1929. He began work on the Chillicothe *Tribune* at the age of 12, and followed newspaper work for the remainder of his life. He subsequently worked on the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, and the Buffalo *Press*. In 1893 he returned to Chillicothe and purchased the *Mail and Star* which he edited and published until 1898. In that year he moved to Rolla and purchased the *New Era*, a paper which he published until the time of his death. He was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

HARVEY S. TUCKER: Born in Saline county, Missouri, April 19, 1848; died in Marshall, Missouri, March 3, 1929. He was educated in the public schools of Saline county and in Central College, at Fayette, being graduated from the latter in 1871. He was appointed presiding judge of the county court of Saline county by Governor Gardner March 27, 1918, to fill the unexpired term of Judge H. W. Harvey, who resigned. In the fall of the same year he was elected to this office for a term of four years.

WILLIAM CRIST VAN CLEVE: Born at Darksville, Randolph county, Missouri, September 4, 1868; died in Moberly, Missouri, May 3, 1929. He was educated in the rural schools, the academy in College Mound, and at LaGrange College. Following graduation he worked for the Baptist Publishing Company at Mexico, then worked on the LaGrange *Democrat*. In 1890 he purchased an interest in the Moberly *Democrat*. In 1899 he moved to Springfield and founded the *Evening Record*, a journal which he conducted for five years. Then he went to Bethany and became publisher of the *Democrat*.

Five years later he bought an interest in the Maryville, *Nodaway Forum*, which was soon merged with the *Democrat* and *Republican* as the *Democrat-Forum*. Retaining his newspaper interests he went to Washington, D. C., in 1909, and served in several clerical positions in the House of Representatives. He resigned as journal clerk in 1919 and returned to Moberly, Missouri. He then bought the *Monitor* and the *Index*, merging them as the *Monitor-Index*. Six years later the Moberly *Democrat* entered this combination. The Maryville *Democrat-Forum* was expanded by the purchase of the *Daily Tribune*, and Mr. Van Cleve retained his interest in the combined papers until last year. He organized and was elected first president of the Missouri Associated Dailies, and has served officially in other press associations. He was an editorial member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

ANECDOTES OF THE CIVIL WAR

From the Baltimore, *Land We Love*, February, 1869.

Carrollton, Missouri, sends an anecdote, which we take the liberty to alter in one particular:

In the spring of 1864, our army under Price, was in Arkansas, and on very short rations. A faithful and beloved Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. M—, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was trying to turn every discouraging circumstance to our spiritual advantage. One Sunday morning he was preaching one of his most thrilling and eloquent sermons, and as appropriate to our condition, was telling how the persecuted and hungry Elijah was fed in the wilderness by ravens, which brought him food.

Old Jimmy—a brave, true soldier, was listening with his mouth open, but somewhat spoilt the solemnity of the occasion, by muttering,

"I wish we had them birds for Commissaries now."

It is said that General Price, who invariably attended Divine service, dropped his head and covered his face with his hands. The services terminated abruptly.

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A young lady sends us an anecdote from Independence, Missouri: It chanced, during the late war, that the Federals were victorious in a battle at this place not, however, without some loss on their side in killed and wounded.

As usual, there was a good deal of spite to be taken out upon us poor unfortunate females of the rebel persuasion, who were left in the town. With a view of inflicting a severe punishment upon us, by imposing a supposed disagreeable task, a Federal officer called upon a party of young ladies, and very sternly ordered them to make shrouds for the Federal dead, adding, "if you fail to obey the order you must suffer the penalty of disobedience." One of the young ladies advanced and said: "I am sure, colonel, we will take great pleasure in obeying your command, and would but be too happy to accommodate your whole regiment in the same way."

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A kind and obliging friend sends us, from St. Louis, Mo., the following:

After the battle of Springfield, Missouri, a regiment of Missouri troops were ordered, much against their inclination, to exchange their shotguns for the muskets captured from the Yankees. One long, lank, leathery backwoodsman was especially obdurate, but at length consented to obey orders and accept the "single barrel." But nothing could induce him to

take the bayonet. "It's bothersome to tote and I can't see the good ov it." Col. P. explained the use of it, and tried to prevail on the obstinate man to keep it. He took the musket, stuck on the bayonet and jabbed away with it experimentally and then drawled out: "Well, Colonel, ef its orders, I 'spose I 'se 'bleeged to kerry the stickin' thing. But all them Yankees is Dutch, and if one of them Dutch gits close enough to stick me with one ov them things and he don't run, I will."

#### MISSOURI'S TWO LINES OF SENATORS

From the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, March 3, 1929.

With the rounding out of three full terms Senator James A. Reed of Kansas City preserves the marvelous luck of the Benton line of senatorial succession in Missouri. He was eighth in a line extending for nearly 108 years. He was third in length of service, Benton having served nearly thirty years and Cockrell having served full thirty years, and Reed having served eighteen years. The three of them covered over three-quarters of a century of the stirring history of the state and nation.

No accident ever befell the Benton line, except in the case of Senator Trusten Polk, who was expelled January 10, 1862, because he concluded to give his allegiance to the Confederacy instead of the Union. Every other senator served out his term.

In striking contrast is the Barton line, of which Senator Harry B. Hawes is the twentieth senator in succession. Drawing the short straw, Barton was, after nearly ten years' service, defeated for re-election. Five senators of that line died in office. Buckner, Linn, Bogy, Stone and Spencer. One, Waldo Porter Johnson, was expelled the same day Polk was, and for the same reason. One, Drake, resigned to accept a judicial appointment. Only three members of the Barton line, after Atchison, were re-elected, Vest, Stone and Spencer. No senator after Atchison appointed by the governor to fill a vacancy was subsequently elected, either by the legislature or by the people. There was once a Barton line vacancy of nearly two years, from March 4, 1855, to January 12, 1857, the Benton forces being able to prevent election and Gov. Sterling Price refusing to make an appointment, claiming that it was not the kind of vacancy a governor could fill, since it arose from a failure of the legislature to elect.

The Benton line, in order, was comprised of Thomas H. Benton (1821-1851); Henry S. Geyer (1851-1857); Trusten Polk (1857-1862); John B. Henderson (1862-1869); Carl Schurz (1869-1875); Francis M. Cockrell (1875-1905); William Warner (1905-1911), and James A. Reed (1911-1929).

Henry S. Geyer was the only Whig senator ever chosen by Missouri, being elected by the Whigs and the anti-Benton Democrats. . . . . John B. Henderson, a war Democrat, voted for Douglas in 1860 but he later became a Republican. Carl Schurz was a Republican, although he later became a "Mugwump." William Warner was a Republican. The rest of the senators of the Benton line were Democrats.

The Barton line was comprised of David Barton (1821-1831); Alexander Buckner (1831-1833); Lewis F. Linn (1833-1843); David R. Atchison (1843-1855); vacancy (1855-1857); James F. Green (1857-1861); Waldo Porter Johnson (1861-1862); Robert Wilson (1862-1863); B. Gratz Brown (1863-1867); Charles D. Drake (1867-1870); Daniel T. Jewett (1870-1871); Francis P. Blair, Jr., (1871-1873); Lewis V. Bogy (1873-1877); David H. Armstrong (1877-1879); James Shields (1879-1879); George G. Vest (1879-1903); William J. Stone (1903-1918); Xenophon P. Wilfley (1918-1925); George H. Williams (1925-1926); and Harry B. Hawes (1926—).

Missouri has a representative from each line in the hall of statuary in Washington—Benton and Blair. Although Benton died on the eve of the Civil war, he was a staunch Unionist. Blair was a major-general of volunteers in the Union army.

Senators Cockrell and Vest, who so long represented Missouri in the senate following reconstruction, had both been identified with the Confederacy, Cockrell as a brigadier general and Vest as a Confederate senator. Vest died soon after his twenty-four years in the senate, but Cockrell, who lost the legislature as a result of the Roosevelt landslide of 1904, was appointed to commissions by both Roosevelt and Taft.....

#### THE FARMER'S CREED

From the St. Louis *Missouri Reporter*, December 31, 1845.

We believe in small farms and thorough cultivation. The soil loves to eat, as well as its owners, and ought therefore to be nurtured.

We believe in large crops, which leave the land better than they found it—making both the farm and the farmer rich at once.

We believe in going to the bottom of things, and therefore in deep ploughing, and enough of it—all the better if with a subsoil plough.

We believe that the best fertility of any soil is the spirit of industry, enterprise, and intelligence; without this, lime and gypsum, bones and green manure, mart or plaster, will be of little use.

We believe in good fences, good barns, good farm houses, good stocks, and good orchards.

We believe in a clean kitchen, a neat wife in it, a spinning piano, a clean cupboard, dairy, and conscience.

We firmly disbelieve in farmers that will not improve; in farms that grow poor every year; in starved cattle; in farmer's boys turning into clerks and merchants; in farmer's daughters unwilling to work; and in all farmers who are ashamed of their vocations.

#### CORBIN COLLEGE

From the Clarence *Guerilla*, Mid-February, 1928. (High School publication.)

In 1855 Prof. Corbin, an Episcopalian curate, came from New England and bought a tract of land on Crooked Creek, about three miles southwest of the present site of Clarence. Here he built a school, later known as



Corbin College, and which was attended by students from St. Louis, Hannibal, Palmyra and other distant points. The school building was 16x32 and was two stories in height. The upper story was used as a dormitory for the boys and girls attending this select school. As the college was built before the railroad, all of the material for the building was freighted from Hannibal with ox teams. . . . . The building was torn down in October, 1925. G. T. Gilman is the present owner of the site of this first school in west Shelby. Mrs. Ellen Perry of Maplewood, Mo., is, so far as the *Guerilla* staff can learn, the only survivor of the students who attended the college.

#### "THIRD HOUSE" OF MISSOURI LEGISLATURE

From the *Kansas City Star*, May 5, 1929.

While Missouri has seen some rather warm sessions of its legislature, few were ever more interesting than those of the old "third house," which ceased to function about twelve years ago.

The "third house" was the unofficial body of the general assembly and was composed for the most part of those who were here as clerks to senators and representatives. The "third house" first came into existence about forty years ago. Early in the session the general assembly, by resolution, set aside certain nights each week when the "third house" had the privilege of the house chamber.

The third branch was organized on the lines of the regular house of representatives. There would be a speaker, floor leaders and standing committees. Bills were introduced in the same fashion as in the regular bodies. The measures frequently proposed legislation along the lines of big questions of the day. And the debate on them many times was of brilliant and surprising variety. Veterans around the present legislature recall there were times when the galleries were packed.

Discussion assumed serious proportions and not infrequently opponents or proponents of measures would be "dusted" in most scathing terms. There were sharp parliamentarians present whose equals were hard to find in the regular bodies. The "third house" proved a good training school for many who later in life became leaders on Missouri's law-making body and in the councils of their political parties.

Among those who presided as speakers of the old "third house" were the late Frank Farris of Rolla, who at one time was Democratic floor leader of the senate; the late John Morton, who later was president pro tem. of the senate; Francis M. Wilson, also president pro tem. of the senate and Democratic candidate for governor in the recent campaign; and Tom Dumm, former president of the Missouri Bar Association.

The entrance of women into politics had much to do with the death of the "third house." Many women have been coming to Jefferson City in recent years as clerks and employees around the legislature. But for real hot sessions which produced talent and attracted wide attention to its activities, the old mock assembly was difficult to rival.

## WHY THE TRAINS STICK

From the Bethany *Republican-Clipper*, February 6, 1929.

It may be an old tale for some of the rest of you, but for us it was a new one. Why is it that each time there is a heavy snow trains along this branch of the Burlington are held up for hours near Garden Grove, Iowa?

It is said that when the railroad was built engineers surveyed a route through a farm near that town, piercing the land at a point to which the owner objected. He fought as best he could, but the railroad condemned the land and had its way. Then it was that the landowner decided upon a plan for making the railroad pay perpetually. He dropped back from the right-of-way and planted a long row of trees along a cut, and after they grew they caused the drifts to pile up along the track even when the snow-fall was not particularly heavy. The landowner died, but in his will he made a provision that the row of trees never were to be cut; and that if this instruction were violated by any of his heirs the land was to be sold and the proceeds turned over to charity.

In the years that have passed since the railroad was built the road has spent enough in shoveling snow from that one cut to have bought the farm outright of the man who held a lasting grudge.

## MISSOURIANS ABROAD—THOMAS F. MILLARD

By Edgar Snow of Kansas City, who is now in China, in the *Kansas City Star*, May 5, 1929.

Closely following the official assumption of his duties as advisor to the Chinese government ministry of railways, by Dr. J. A. L. Waddell, noted Missouri engineer, comes an announcement that another great Missourian, Thomas F. Millard, veteran newspaper man, author, lecturer and authority on far eastern affairs, shortly is to become "advisor to the government of the republic of China." Millard, who for some time has been correspondent here (in Shanghai) for the *New York Herald Tribune's* Oriental bureau, will become an employee of the national government as soon as his successor in his newspaper post arrives.

This is not Mr. Millard's first affiliation with the Chinese government. He was advisor to the now defunct Peking government from 1918 until 1923 and he sat at the Paris peace conference, the Washington conference, three sessions of the League of Nations, the Lausanne conference and at other important international gatherings.

Mr. Millard appeared twice before the United States senate committee on foreign relations as an expert on Chinese affairs and his opinion is credited with having caused the senate to reject the Shantung clauses of the Versailles treaty and ultimately to refuse to accept the entire treaty.

Of greater interest to Missourians, perhaps, is Mr. Millard's journalistic career, which has been an unusually adventurous and successful one and through which he has been able to assist many a cub reporter, fresh

from Missouri's school of journalism, in obtaining valuable newspaper experience.

Born in Phelps county, Missouri, in 1868, Mr. Millard was educated at the Missouri School of Mines and Metallurgy, and later attended the University of Missouri. While at the latter he was a Zeta Phi and was one of the founders of that chapter of the Beta Theta Phi fraternity. His first newspaper job was in St. Louis, from 1895 to 1897.

As war correspondent for leading American newspapers and magazines Mr. Millard has seen service in nine campaigns, including the Graeco-Turkish war, Boer war, Spanish-American war, Chinese Boxer uprising, Russo-Japanese war and the World war.

In association with B. W. Fleisher, publisher of the *Japan Advertiser*, Mr. Millard founded the *China Press*, in 1911. It was the first American newspaper in Shanghai. One of his first associates on that paper was Dr. Wu Ting-fang, father of Dr. C. C. Wu, present Chinese minister to the United States, and former minister of foreign affairs in the national government. In 1917, he founded *Millard's Review of the Far East*, now the *China Weekly Review*, perhaps the best known American journal in the Orient. Of his numerous books, six deal with problems of the Far East, some of which are ranked as leading textbooks in American universities.

Although appointments of foreign advisors to the Chinese government have been numerous, Mr. Millard's position is unique in that he is, with the exception of Sir Frederick Whyte, the only appointee whose office will be of a political rather than a technical nature. It is understood that his work will be principally in association with the ministry of foreign affairs. His counsel will be used in questions of an international complication.

Mr. Millard said that he is contemplating an early trip to America, and that on his way to Washington he expects to stop for several days in Kansas City and St. Louis. He also is planning to visit Columbia, perhaps in time to attend this year's commencement. While he is there he will be presented with an honorary degree, either an LL. D. or a B. J. which has been an offer to him of long standing from the University of Missouri.

#### BRYAN'S WATER MILL

From the *Jefferson City Daily Tribune*, April 19, 1893.

Among the frequenters of legislative halls in the early days, when hunting shirts and buckskin leggins were considered equipment fashionable enough for a lawmaker, was Jonathan Bryan, who built the first water mill in Missouri. It was situated on a small spring branch that empties into Femme Osage creek in St. Charles county. It was built in 1801. The mill would grind from six to ten bushels of grain in twenty-four hours. For several years it supplied the settlements from St. Charles to Loutre Island with meal and flour, the same stones grinding both wheat and corn. The flour was bolted in a box by hand. Mr. Bryan would fill the hopper with

grain in the morning and the mill would grind on that until noon, when the hopper would be filled again. The meal ran into a large pewter basin which sat on the floor at the bottom of the stones.

An amusing story is told in this connection. When the mill was started Daniel Boone was living with his son Nathan on the old Boone farm, distant about a mile from the mill. Boone owned a dog named "Cuff" that used to go to the mill in Mr. Bryan's absence and lick the meal out of the basin as fast as it ran from the spout. When it did not run fast enough to suit him he would sit down and howl and bark. This reprehensible habit ultimately caused him grief. Bryan discovered where his meal had been going and he changed the pewter basin for a tin coffee pot too small for the dog's head.

#### THE DRAMA IN ST. LOUIS

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, February 13, 1929.

.....The first dramatic performance given in St. Louis was on January 6, 1815, when a number of "young gentlemen of the town" gave a comedy called "The School for Authors" and a farce termed "The Budget of Blunders" which were acted in the old courthouse, which was originally James Baird's blacksmith shop, located on the west side of Third street below Spruce street. Who "the young gentlemen" were will probably always remain a mystery, for a newspaper account of their activities hides their identity under their initials, Prof. Carson related, because at that time actors were not held in high repute in the frontier towns.

He traces the beginnings of the professional stage from the time when, in February or perhaps January of 1818, William Turner, an actor, brought his family and a few other players to St. Louis after performing in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and the Kentucky towns. They staged their performances in the old courthouse, and possibly in the loft over the stable of the Green Tree Tavern. Turner and his itinerant players must have pleased the local audiences, for he convinced a number of them that a more suitable building than the old blacksmith shop was needed for a playhouse, and a lot was purchased and money subscribed to build a theater. The project was not successful, but later in the same year a small frame theater was built by subscription for the use of an amateur society, which called itself the Thespians. "It stood on what is now known as city block 30, bounded by Olive, Locust, Main and an alley," an account reads in "Dramatic Life as I Found It" by Noah M. Ludlow, who arrived in St. Louis with a small stock company in 1819, and thereafter for nearly forty years dominated.

#### THE FIRST MOTOR ACCIDENT IN KANSAS CITY

From the Kansas City *Star*, February 12, 1928.

The tipping of a light buggy upset all Kansas City a while ago. It was not such a long while, either. This first motor outrage listed in the

files of the *Star* was in the cool of the evening of September 23, 1902. The villain upon whom the rage of the town descended was an unidentified machine called the "Three-Eyed Monster" in dishonor of the extra light on its curly dashboard.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Prigg, 1318 Baltimore avenue, driving Bettina, a tall, youngish sorrel, "a horse show prize winner and a powerful pacer," saw and heard the "monster" coming and tried to get away. They turned into Fifteenth street. At Wabash, however, Mrs. Prigg heard the puffing coming closer and soon the machine passed. "Undoubtedly it was running very fast and making more noise than a steam roller."

Bettina, although considered gentle and well behaved by a circle of friends, knew what she disliked—and how. She broke her pace, a fact her proud master mentioned in the account of the accident with as much sorrow as anything connected with it. Soon she had thrown off all inhibitions and the buggy had thrown off Mr. and Mrs. Prigg near Olive street.

Two of Mr. Prigg's ribs were broken, the *Star* reporter adding, "Mrs. Prigg's face—the right side of it—is badly swollen and she is somewhat bruised."

#### THE NEW MADRID EARTHQUAKE

From the *Kansas City Post*, July 30, 1928.

The most severe earthquake that ever took place in the United States occurred in 1812 at New Madrid, Mo., says Allen L. Benson in his recently published book, "The Story of Geology."

This shock, which took place February 7, was but one of 1,874 quakes that occurred in the vicinity between December 16, 1811, and March 16, 1812. Eight of these shocks were of the first order of intensity, each having behind it fifteen times as much energy as the San Francisco tremor of 1906, or 12,000,000,000 times the energy of a gun that can raise a ton fifteen miles. The Mississippi river was thrown back upon itself—made to run uphill a moment—and then it came rushing back in waves 30 feet high. Yet this series of great shocks did not come suddenly. For years before the first crash came, subterranean rumblings had been heard.

These noises were made by the fractured surfaces of rocks grinding together. Along the line of the fracture the earth was slipping, one side going in one direction and the other side in the other direction. The movements were not great enough to attract much attention, but they were great enough to set up new strains in the underlying rock. Finally the rock broke, and the two sides of the crust, along the line of fracture, slipped back to their original positions. It was this slipping that caused the quake which people felt.

This is the modern idea of earthquakes, says Mr. Benson—that the slipping and the tumbling of the crust along the line of fracture causes the quakes. The old idea was that the quakes caused the cracking of the crust. The modern idea is based upon the knowledge that even the hardest stone

is slightly plastic and elastic. Put it under enough pressure and it can be bent a little without breaking it. Put it under too much pressure and it will break, but the next moment it will fly back to its original position. It is the fly-back that we call an earthquake, which if it be great enough will set up shocks that will travel through the earth and be felt in every part of it. Shocks travel through the earth at the rate of about 375 miles a minute, requiring about twenty minutes to pass from one side of the planet to the other. They travel more rapidly in the interior than they do on the surface, because the interior is more dense.

The first great shock at New Madrid came at 2 o'clock in the morning of December 16, 1811. There was a noise like thunder, a great shaking of the crust, and in a few minutes the air was heavy with the fumes of sulphur. The sulphur came through cracks that opened in the earth. The cracks that formed in the soft river bottom of the Mississippi soon filled with mud, but sometimes earthquakes crack rocks and make openings where there is no mud. Sometimes these cracks are later filled with sand which becomes cemented into sandstone.....

During what the few inhabitants must have regarded as the awful winter of 1811-12, the earth was seldom still and sometimes rolled like a sea. The graveyard at New Madrid dropped eight feet and the Mississippi rolled over it. For fifteen miles above and below the town the earth dropped. Trees were snapped off near the ground. Stones were thrown into the air. It will be recalled that the old parson of Newbury, Mass., told about the bricks of his fireplace jumping nine inches into the air. Nobody need doubt his story, or the stories of those who saw stones hurled at New Madrid. Eight feet of a stone well was thrown above the surface in Italy in 1783. It is all very simple. When the upward throw of an earthquake is greater than the downward pull of gravity, things go into the air.

Some earthquakes have plenty of upward throws—according to "The Story of Geology"—the movements are not all horizontal. During a great earthquake in Japan in 1891 the crust jumped upward four inches. This may not seem much, but it is a great deal. The earth need move but one sixteen-hundredth of an inch to be felt. The crust of Japan in 1891 jumped four inches but moved fourteen inches horizontally. Not once, not twice, but scores of times and with tremendous suddenness. It is the suddenness of earth movements during a quake that does the damage. Move a tree slowly fourteen inches or fourteen miles and nothing happens, but move it suddenly and it snaps. It is thrown down upon the earth with a thud. An earthquake of first class intensity is required to do this, and New Madrid, in one winter, had eight such earthquakes.

Old lakes were drained and new lakes made within an hour. Lake Eulalie, a small body of water near New Madrid, dropped out of sight almost as suddenly as if the bottom had been pulled out of it. Great cracks opened in the lake's floor and swallowed the water. In northwestern Tennessee, Reelfoot lake, twenty miles long and seven miles wide, came into existence as rapidly as water could run into it. The ground went down,

carrying big cypress trees with it. When the lake had filled, the trees were submerged almost to their tops. The making and unmaking of lakes is a familiar phenomenon in connection with earthquakes. According to Japanese tradition, the night that the earth trembled and Fujiyama was born, a lake was created nearby.

What children first fear, says Mr. Benson, when they hear about earthquakes, actually came to pass in the country around New Madrid. The earth opened and threatened to swallow the people. The only reason it did not swallow any was that none happened to be standing where the cracks opened. But the farmers had to cross these cracks afterward and felled trees to enable them to get over in safety if the earth should happen to close while they were in transit. Farmers in other places have not always been so fortunate. During the Calabrian earthquake in Italy in 1783, cracks 500 feet long and 200 feet deep swallowed men, farm animals and houses. Most of the cracks closed almost as quickly as they had opened. Excavators later found the houses crushed to thin, flat layers.

When New Madrid settled down in the spring, it was a different place. The 1,874 earthquakes that came during the winter had so shifted the earth's crust that the government was compelled to resurvey 1,000,000 acres.

#### "THE INDIAN CONVERT"

By Celia Ray in the *Springfield Sunday News and Leader*, November 18, 1928.

"In de dark woods, no Indian nigh,  
Den me look heb'n and send up cry,  
Den me look heb'n and send up cry,  
Upon my knee so low.  
But God on high, in shiny place  
See me at night wid teary face,  
See me at night wid teary face,  
De preacher tell me so."

(Editor's Note: This song, said to be more than a century old, appeared in an article concerning the "Christian Harmony Choir." The latter was organized in Springfield in August, 1928, by George Rook, Frank Kirk, John Hicks, and Mr. and Mrs. T. V. Brown. The choir often sings pioneer ballads which are comparatively unknown to the present generation.)

#### REMINISCENCES OF THOMAS J. GARR

From the *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, March 6, 1929.

Thomas J. Garr, known to his associates as "Jeff" Garr, is quietly celebrating his eighty-seventh birthday at his home on the corner of Walnut and Jackson streets today. He was born in Pennsylvania, March 6, 1842,

and has lived in this city for over seventy-four years, forty of those years having been lived in the house in which he now resides. Since the death of his wife, whom he married in 1866, several years ago, Mrs. Ione Lyon, an only daughter has kept house for her father.

This quiet mannered old gentleman saw much service in the Union Army during the Civil war, but he is not one to "shoulder his crutch to show how fields were won." Nor is he wont to foregather much with the "boys" who love to sit around and recount the tales of those stirring times. "It is all just better left behind us," he told an interviewer recently. "Some old fellows get so carried away with great stories of what was done in those days back in the sixties and they tell the same story over so many times, why, they actually get to thinking they are telling the truth and that they were really the great heroes they describe. I never took much stock in telling yarns."

But he could tell many, for he saw the hardest kind of campaigning, here in Missouri and various sections of the United States. He first enlisted in Company K, 4th Provisional Regiment, of which R. S. Moore was captain, John De Sha lieutenant, J. H. Shanklin was the colonel. Later Mr. Garr went to St. Joseph where he was mustered into Company G, 44th Regiment. This company was composed of infantrymen.

"After we left St. Joseph," recounted this old veteran, "we marched down to St. Louis. They whooped us up a lot. I never thought it possible to cover so much territory so fast." But this trip was a mere bagatelle to the marches that followed. From St. Louis they marched to Raleigh only to return to St. Louis, then to Kentucky, where at Franklin they had a "hot old fight," to quote the old campaigner's words. He marched through Tennessee and down to East Port, Mississippi. By this time his shoes were completely worn out and he marched part of the way barefoot through the snow. He was at Vicksburg, and at New Orleans. Then his company was sent east and he took part in a battle at Mobile Bay which lasted eighteen days.

Mr. Garr was at Tuskegee when the war ended and it was there he was mustered out of the Union army.

A few days ago Robert D. Allnutt of this city, who was a buddy of Garr during the days of the State Militia and for some time thereafter, and Mr. Garr were recalling, at the instance of this writer, some of their experiences here in Livingston county.

The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad which had been completed a few years before the beginning of the war between the North and the South, was of great importance for troops could be transported quickly over its road. The Federals were eager to keep the road open for it was their great chance to hold north Missouri under Federal control. There had been repeated reports that the southern sympathizers were going to burn the bridges at Medicine Creek and the Grand River, not only to prevent the movement of Federal troops over its line, but as an expression of protest, for this road was considered a "Yankee concern anyhow."



Garr and Allnutt served together in guarding the bridge just west of town. They were quartered in a blockhouse near the Hannibal bridge for some time. Their principal amusement was hunting wild turkeys. Garr recalled Allnutt jumping into the river to capture a turkey he had winged and which had dropped into that stream. Garr also guarded the Medicine Creek bridge from a blockhouse built near it.

Neither of these Livingston county "boys" was injured in any way, although they were in any number of engagements. When asked to repeat any campaign song that they could recall that was peculiar to this part of Missouri Allnutt sang what he called "Tindall's Song." Tindall was the Hon. Jacob T. Tindall of Trenton, a prominent lawyer of that place, who raised a regiment for the Union forces. This regiment was the famous 23d regiment. It was quartered in Chillicothe from the first of November, 1861, until March, 1862. This regiment took part in the Battle of Shiloh, and it was in this engagement that Tindall lost his life. The song follows:

#### Tindall's Song

Attention be, both far and near!  
A truthful story you shall hear.  
It's when I speak, I pledge my word  
In honor of the twenty-third.

The first of April was the day  
We struck our tents and marched away.  
From Benton Barracks we did go,  
To meet the rebels at Shiloh.

We saw brave Tindall, with sword in hand,  
Raise in his stirrups and give command.  
An instant our brave Tindall fell  
And many more we loved so well.

The rabid rebels, fierce for blood,  
Came rushing us on like a flood,  
While we behind the hedge did lie,  
Intending victory or to die.

#### BISHOP MARVIN'S BEARD

Reprinted from *Leslie's Sunday Magazine*, April, 1878, by the *Missouri Grand Lodge Bulletin*, Trenton, August, 1928.

.....The Rev. Dr. Deems describes the appearance of Rev. Enoch Mather Marvin on the occasion of his election to the Episcopal office in New Orleans in 1866 as follows:

"He was too rudely dressed to enter the church where he was to be received as bishop-elect, so several of the ministers, at the suggestion of

the Rev. Dr. Charles K. Marshall, insisted on presenting to him a clerical suit becoming the occasion. He was the first man of his church who had been elected to the episcopacy with a full suit of beard. We recollect distinctly that the senior bishop called us to him before Mr. Marvin's consecration and said,

"See here, doctor, couldn't you persuade the new bishop to have his face shaved?"

"Don't know, bishop, it's dangerous to take a man by the beard."

"That evening, while the conversation was general and genial, we took liberty to suggest that the beard was an offense to some of the brethren.

"They'll have to stand it," said he, "They elected me in my beard, and they must endure me in my beard."

"Yes," we suggested, "but remember you were not present when you were elected. I doubt whether they could have been persuaded to elect you if they had seen what a homely man you are, shaved or bearded."

"He laughed at this sally, but insisted on keeping as much of his homeliness as possible under hair." .....

#### GRAVES OF NATHAN BOONE'S FAMILY

From the *Kansas City Times*, April 2, 1929.

In a little elm grove not far from a typical Ozark pioneer home about two miles north of Ash Grove, the graves of Nathan Boone, his wife and children may be found. Only rough stones serve as a reminder that the frontiersman and his family rest beneath the seven shrubby-covered mounds.

Old settlers living in this community and relatives of the pioneer Boone family now recall the chain of events that marked the spirit of these Missourian settlers.

Nathan Boone was the youngest son of Daniel Boone, woodsman and Indian fighter. Volumes have been written about the elder Boone's colorful career, but little has been brought to light bearing on the character of the son, who possessed many of the traits of his Kentucky father. ....

Of the descendants of Daniel Boone, several live near Ash Grove, in Greene county. The last grandchild of Daniel Boone, Mrs. Mary Hosman, died in 1915. Four of her children, some grandchildren, and the great-grandchildren of one of her sisters have homes in this section.

Mrs. Hosman was 93 years old when she died. She was the youngest child of Nathan Boone.

The house built by Nathan Boone more than ninety years ago originally was a "double," a large and roomy log cabin. It has since been weatherboarded and altered in other ways. This house is the oldest structure in this region. The land on which it is built is part of a 1,200-acre tract owned by Nathan Boone which now is the property of Mrs. Grace Buckner of Ash Grove. The house is occupied by tenants who operate the farm. A considerable part of Ash Grove itself is on the southern part of the old Nathan Boone estate. The only part of this land now in pos-

session of a member of the family is the Hosman farm, where Mrs. Hosman and her youngest son, R. L. Hosman, lived until her death.

Nathan Boone at one time was a captain in the United States dragoons. He was a member of Missouri's first constitutional convention. He did much surveying for the government in Kansas, the Indian Territory and Missouri. It was while engaged in this work that he decided to make his home in Greene county, where Boone township, in which Ash Grove is located, was named for him.

Perhaps his most important work was the surveying and marking out of Boone's Lick road in 1814; the first state road in Missouri. In this he was assisted by his brother, Daniel Morgan Boone. This old road has become famous as the forerunner of the Santa Fe and Oregon trails.

Before coming to the Ozarks Nathan Boone had lost practically all his property. It was partly to obtain cheap land that he removed to this then undeveloped part of the state. It was at the home of Nathan Boone in north Missouri that Daniel Boone died in 1820, at the age of 86.



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